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# Daily Report

# East Europe

FBIS-EEU-89-114
Thursday
15 June 1989

# Daily Report
## East Europe

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## Opponents of Convertibility in CEMA Criticized

*AU0706132489 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 6 Jun 89 p 6*

[Article by Engineer A. Baran, doctor of sciences, professor at the Ostrava Mining College: "CEMA on the Threshold of a New Stage"]

[Excerpts] **The current stage of international cooperation within the CEMA framework laid the groundwork for an extensive exchange of goods, mostly on a bilateral basis, as well as for extensive cooperation in the sphere of manufacturing, gradual specialization and production sharing, and cooperation in the sphere of science and technology. In a relatively short period of time, a powerful economic potential has been built in individual member states.**

The next development stage of international economic cooperation will have to make far greater use of the existing economic strength and improve and develop it further, **primarily on the basis of multilateral economic cooperation.**

**A single international socialist market** could serve as an instrument facilitating the intensification of multilateral cooperation and leading to the optimal utilization of all the potentials in the international socialist division of labor. [passage omitted]

A single international socialist market will help overcome the inertia of the existing approach toward the development of international socialist division of labor, which focuses overwhelmingly on division of labor between different branches. It will help overcome the historically evolved organizational and economic isolation of scientific-technical cooperation from the manufacturing sphere and establish conditions for their consistent integration. [passage omitted]

The implementation of a single international socialist market requires the creation of corresponding mechanisms and the right of economic organizations to enter international cooperation on the basis of economic accountability and, at the same time, bear the consequences of the results of this cooperation.

An improved foreign exchange and financial mechanism must form an integral part of the improved mechanism of economic integration. This is not so much a question of creating a foreign exchange market as a question of a well and simply functioning financial and foreign exchange system facilitating economic cooperation on a multilateral basis.

This is neither a new task, nor a new need. The comprehensive program for the further intensification and improvement of cooperation and for the development of socialist economic integration of CEMA member states of 1971 already laid down progressive tasks in the foreign exchange and financial sphere, such as the introduction of the convertibility of national currencies for the transferable ruble and the mutual convertibility of national currencies. A number of tasks precisely in this sphere remained unfulfilled, however, and their solution now is all the more urgent. The issues involved are undoubtedly exceedingly complicated. Nevertheless, it is necessary to achieve a greater degree of unity on favorable conditions that would facilitate the creation of a flexible foreign exchange and financial system or on the creation of conditions for the evolution of such a system.

One cannot, for example, completely agree with those who argue that such a step can be taken only if there is an abundance of goods, if goods production increases further. Over the period from CEMA's founding up to 1986, industrial production in CEMA countries increased 15.5 times. [passage omitted] Over the same period, agricultural output increased 2.8 times. Therefore, the issue cannot be an absolute shortage of goods, but, essentially, only shortages in some ranges of products or their inadequate quality. At issue is, rather, an expansion in mutual cooperation of the sphere of goods exchange outside the contingents [agreed in annual protocols on exchanges of goods and payments].

One also cannot fully agree with those economists who believe that one can arrive at the convertibility of national currencies only if there is a substantial increase in national labor productivity levels. **Exchange rates can, and must, bridge differences in national productivity levels**; there are many examples in the world of far less advanced economies with convertible currencies. Our country, too, has taken the first steps in this direction and has obtained initial experience not only with the objectification and simplification of exchange rates, but also with the exchange of our national currency for the Soviet ruble, and so forth.

## More on Balkan Industrial Cooperation Meeting

### Delegates Address Meeting

*AU0706184289 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1720 GMT 7 Jun 89*

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 7/06/1989—A Balkan ministerial meeting on industrial cooperation and the transfer of technology started in Bucharest on Wednesday, 7 June. It is attended by delegations of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the Hellenic Republic, the Republic of Turkey, the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the Socialist Republic of Romania. The Balkan countries ambassadors in Bucharest also take part.

Opening the meeting, Deputy Prime Minister Stefan Andrei, acting under a mandate from the president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Nicolae Ceausescu, and in the name of the government, warmly greeted the participants and wished the meeting full success. Further, the speaker underscored that, as part of the positive process of developing inter-Balkan relations in various fields, the meeting is an opportunity for understandings apt to take the industrial cooperation and transfer of technology to a higher level, to serve the cause of peace, collaboration and good neighbourliness in the Balkans, and in Europe, and the welfare and progress of the Balkan peoples.

In his capacity as chairman of the meeting, Ioan Ungur, Romanian minister of foreign trade and international economic cooperation, emphasised the importance of identifying the domains of mutual interest, of the most adequate forms as well as of the ways and means to develop industrial cooperation and transfer of technology among Balkan countries—premises of a more intense cooperation in those fields. In the name of the Romanian delegation concrete proposals were presented which are to be examined with the representatives of the other participant countries in the field of industrial cooperation and transfer of technology.

The heads of the participant delegations also took the floor on the first day of the proceedings.

### Ceausescu Speech to Delegates

*AU0906104989 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0842 GMT 9 Jun 89*

["President Nicolae Ceausescu's Address"—AGERPRES headline—on receiving heads of delegations to Balkan ministerial meeting on industrial cooperation and transfer of technology, in Bucharest on 8 June]

[Text] Comrades and Gentlemen, heads of the delegations of the Balkan countries to the ministerial meeting on industrial cooperation and the transfer of technology, I want first of all to welcome with satisfaction this ministerial meeting devoted to a domain of particular importance for economic and social growth, for a higher level of civilization and standard of living—materially and spiritually—of the peoples of our countries, a highly important factor of consolidation of the policy of independence and sovereignty of every nation.

In recent years, better relations of cooperation have been established and developed in various spheres among the Balkan countries. However, this is only a beginning, a good and very significant beginning. We hold the view that we should work more firmly and cooperate closely to more intensely expand the economic, technical, scientific, cultural cooperation, to develop political cooperation in order to make the Balkans a zone of peaceful cooperation, free of nuclear and chemical weapons and of foreign military bases.

We know that this goal requires sustained efforts from all Balkan states, but it is decisive for our countries' future, for our peoples' progress and welfare.

As a matter of fact the international life, European included, has seen more initiatives, growing efforts develop cooperation, to solve the issues through negotiations, and more particularly, achieve a Europe united in the diversity of its social systems, with free and independent nations.

It is nonetheless true that besides these initiatives we have been witness to many—unfortunately too many—actions set on the principles of the old policy of force and dictate. Not all the needed conclusions have been drawn in order that the nuclear policy, the so-called deterrence by force, the nuclear deterrent policy be given up.

It seems that not all political leaders in Europe, the United States and Canada, I mean those participating in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe—have drawn all conclusions from the long "cold war" period that prejudiced all states, not only in this part of the world, but around the globe. The economic crisis, the continuous deterioration of the situation of the developing countries, the heavy burden of the foreign debt are actually the result of the policy of force, of dictate, of excessive arming.

I mention all this because Romania, just as your countries, to a larger or smaller extent, is for the renunciation of the old policy, for a really new policy, for interstate relations set on the principles of equality, of respect for independence and sovereignty, for a complete renunciation of nuclear weapons and their elimination from Europe and the world, as well as for substantial cuts in conventional weapons and military spending.

In this spirit, we would like the development of inter-Balkan cooperation on economic questions to contribute to a climate of broad cooperation, in all areas cooperation in industry and the transfer of technology is of great importance—and I think that one may assess that the Balkan countries can through a good cooperation, solve many problems at the level of the latest gains of science and technology, ensure a more powerful economic and social growth in general.

For these reasons we firmly stand for a broad development of our cooperation and I welcome the understandings that were made in that direction on this occasion. These are just the first steps, but they are necessary and very important steps, I say it again, for a broad cooperation among our countries.

Ours are countries that belong to two different economic bodies or to neither, but that wish to join one of them. And we are also countries that are in two different military blocs. I emphasize this since it is highly significant that, under these circumstances, such meetings, can be called and an active cooperation be achieved that may have a broader influence, on cooperation in Europe and the world over.

Although we belong to different economic groupings, I think it very important that—beyond our membership of one economic group or another—we can achieve a broad cooperation and even institutionalize our economic, technical, scientific cooperation which should not oppose cooperation in the two economic groups in Europe, but supplement it on a regional plane, in the Balkans, to get better results. We must say it openly that being in one economic group or another has not—at least so far—helped all the countries, no matter what group they are in to fully solve their problems. And, frankly speaking, I do not see that the situation is likely to improve much in the near future, as in both economic groups there are various influences and tendencies to hegemony, to retain the strength and prevailing influence. That is why, cooperation in the Balkans can diminish past negative states of affairs, and help our countries solve together, through a better cooperation, the problems of economic and social development, in each country and overall.

There are many problems awaiting solution in each of our countries. In each of them important steps have been taken on the path of economic and social development, but we still have much to do in this respect. Achieving a broad cooperation in industry and technology, as well as in agriculture, transport, scientific, and technological research, and other areas, we can and must engage in such a cooperation as to influence our partners—in the Common Market or in the CMEA—make them draw conclusions as regards the improvement of the working system and of the relations within these organisms.

But, apart from this, I think that it is in our countries' interest to broadly develop this cooperation. And we can do it.

As far as Romania is concerned, it is resolved to take an active part, to develop broadly—both bilaterally, with every Balkan country, and multilaterally, together with several countries—a number of cooperations in production ventures. We will do it starting from the fact that our countries have the necessary industrial and technological potential, the material means to achieve a broad cooperation, which will help solving the complex problems of each country, raising the general development level, our peoples' standard of living.

It gives me great pleasure to note here the continuing progress of Romania's economic, technical and scientific exchanges with all the Balkan countries in recent years.

I want you to be sure that, as far as Romania is concerned, it is willing and ready to engage in a wide-ranging cooperation in production, in various projects—industrial or otherwise—of course, on economic principles of full equality and mutual advantage. In fact, this is what we want to do also with other states—we particularly plan to expand more our ties with the developing countries—and, in this spirit, we would like to start with a broader Balkan cooperation.

Let us really make the Balkans an area of strong economic, technological, scientific and cultural cooperation, a zone of peace and cooperation.

I am thankful for your good wishes to the Romanian people. Please, convey your heads of state and government my greetings, the greetings of our state and party leadership, along with the best wishes of success in economic and social development, of higher welfare and happiness to the people of your countries, as well as wishes of peace.

I wish you all success in your activity.

## Commentary on Soviet's Solving Ethnic Troubles

*AU1406172789 Tirana BASHKIMI in Albanian 11 Jun 89 p 4*

[Arben Ruka article: "Ethnic Conflicts in the Soviet Union"]

[Text] News agencies referring to the Soviet press and media, report that the situation in Uzbekistan continues to be serious following bloody interethnic conflicts involving many victims. A Soviet Ministry of Internal Affairs spokesman, cited by PRAVDA, stated that more than 80 people have died and about 800 others have been injured since the outbreak of the interethnic violence in the republic of Uzbekistan on 3 June. Moreover, about 500 houses, 14 factories, and more than 300 motor vehicles have been burned or totally destroyed during the conflicts. The Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, speaking to the Soviet parliament, described the situation as "fraught" and admitted that "The violence is claiming more victims." Meanwhile, Vadim Bakatin, the Soviet minister of internal affairs, who visited the Fergana region of Uzbekistan where the violence is most intense, said to SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA that the special military forces still do not have the situation under control.

The causes of the conflicts between the Uzbek population and the national minority of Meskhetian Turks in this Soviet Central Asian republic have still not been reported. About 11,000 Meskhetian Turks have fled Fergana in order to save themselves from the violence of the Uzbeks, who are armed with knives and iron bars. Abduzabar Kusanov, a deputy representing the area in the new Soviet parliament, said that the violence arose following a misunderstanding over the price of blackberries in the market in the town of Kuvasay 2 weeks ago. However, reports in the Soviet press itself make it clear that this was merely a pretext for the conflicts, whose causes lie deeper. Some time ago, the press reported that relations between the Uzbeks and the Meskhetian Turks had deteriorated as a result of severe economic problems, especially high unemployment among young people.

The recent interethnic conflicts in Uzbekistan follow those between Azerbaijanis and Armenians in Nagorno-Karabakh. National problems have also been exacerbated in Georgia, Estonia, Lithuania, Turkmenia, and other areas. The present Soviet leadership has shown itself incapable of coping with these situations, and has deployed the Army to suppress ethnic and national movements, despite its loud protestations of "glasnost" and democracy. Gorbachev, speaking at the Congress of People's Deputies that was held recently, said that a comprehensive solution for interethnic relations must be found, and that no attempt to solve these problems through criminal methods can be permitted. However, recent facts show that the Soviet Army and police have resorted to violence to disperse any sign of protest in the Soviet republics, as was evident in the recent case of Georgia, where dozens of people were killed and injured by the guns of the Soviet military, under the orders of leading circles in Moscow.

## Commentary Examines Soviet Foreign Policy

*AU0906081389 Tirana RRUGA E PARTISE in Albanian 7 May 89 p 82-89*

[Shaban Murati article: "'New Political Thinking'—A Platform of Soviet Foreign Policy"]

[Text] The time of Gorbachev's arrival in the Kremlin coincided with a deep crisis in Soviet foreign policy. The prestige of this great state had fallen to a low ebb. Its aggression against Afghanistan, which had fruitlessly persisted on for many years, had seriously damaged the Soviet Union's reputation. The Afghan factor became for Soviet policy what the Vietnamese factor had been for United States policy.

Participation in the costly arms race had also led to the expenditure of colossal sums, especially on nuclear weapons. The Soviet economy was increasingly less able to cope with this. The extension of Soviet strategic commitment in different countries and regions of the world also called for enormous funds.

The consequences of this policy increasingly reduced the living standards of the populace. Thus, dissatisfaction at the conduct of foreign policy accumulated. The slogans, methods, and thinking that had guided Soviet foreign policy since the sixties not only could not lead this policy further, but could not conceal its failure.

Under these conditions, Gorbachev undertook a restructuring of foreign policy in order to find new ways and means of consolidating and extending Soviet expansion in the world.

In contrast to earlier Soviet reforms and certain foreign policy projects of the Soviet Union in the time of Khrushchev and Brezhnev, Gorbachev's current political platform represents a new evolution of the Soviet Union's methods and activity in the international arena. This is one of the reasons why the "new political thinking" has met with the response it has among certain international political and diplomatic circles.

Gorbachev's doctrine is an attempt to unify every form of ideology and philosophy and all opposing social classes and systems, making "new political thinking" a common denominator of all peoples and nations. He calls this common conception of the world "awareness of the common nature of our objective destinies." Viewed through such spectacles, "new political thinking" idealizes international relations and the development of the modern world. It offers the mirage of a world without weapons and wars, without violence and hostility, in which imperialist metropolises and small countries, imperialist multinationals and states sunk in debt, dictatorial regimes and oppressed masses, will live together in perfect harmony.

One of the basic concepts of Gorbachevian "new political thinking" is "the unity of the world," and the mutual interdependence of its peoples and nations. He advances this unity as an absolute, categorical value in international life, denying the fundamental contradictions of our era, and especially that between two opposing social systems, socialism and capitalism. Gorbachev's "integral, interdependent world" welds socialism with capitalism, and reconciles oppressed peoples with imperialism. Gorbachev considers contradictions between social systems, the conflict of social interests, and the ideological irreconcilability of antagonistic classes to be "vestiges of the past." Such an interpretation seeks to conceal the truth, which is that the contradictions of our epoch continue to be the same ones that were described by Leninist thinking and which were expounded and discussed by Comrade Enver Hoxha in his outstanding work, "Imperialism and Revolution."

As is traditional in modern bourgeois political theory, "new political thinking" makes play with the changes in the modern world and seeks to exploit them to justify its concepts and aims. The world does indeed change, just as it always has done and always will; new problems arise and call for new responses and solutions. The process of change is essential to the world's existence, but it is nonetheless necessary to define clearly and from a class position all those changes that are inexorable, such as social equality, national freedom and independence, and socialism, and not those imagined by Gorbachev in his perestroyka theory.

For the ideologists of perestroyka, the changes at present taking place in the world are leading to the reconciliation of antagonistic classes and peoples, states, and nations, on the basis of common, general, human values. Under the pretext of change, they abandon all the general laws of development of human society, the class war, the revolution, and Marxism-Leninism.

Marxist-Leninist doctrine has clearly defined the legitimate and possible ways and means for revolutionary transformation in the modern world. The history of our century since the Great October Socialist Revolution, socialist experience in certain countries of the world, and the construction of socialism in Albania have been major tests of the correctness of scientific socialism. The world has changed and can be changed through revolution. The changes that have been and are taking place in the world do not require or even raise the question of the revision of Marxism-Leninism, nor the birth of a new pan-human ideology called "new political thinking."

In place of revolution, Gorbachev offers "joint creation and joint development" between socialism and capitalism, repeating the theories of bourgeois philosophy and sociology after World War II concerning the revitalization of capitalism, and preaching "the ever-increasing opportunities for the social development of the capitalist system."

"New political thinking" relies to a large extent on what it calls the realities of the nuclear era, which particularly include the danger of nuclear weapons and the great problems caused as a result of the technical-scientific revolution, especially in the environment. The nuclear danger is a particular object of speculation and, according to Soviet specialists, "equalizes states and systems."

Nuclear weapons are a very important element that needs to be taken into account in the development of international and interstate relations. These weapons and the methods used to store and control them include the danger of accidents. Nuclear accidents, as shown by those of Chernobyl or the Challenger spacecraft, do not confine themselves within state borders, for they also affect the interests of many other states, due to nuclear radiation.

The tie between nuclear weaponry and the atomic danger, on one hand, and the foreign policy and military strategy of the powers who produce and possess these weapons on the other hand, has not disappeared. "New political thinking" considers the problem of war separately from class interests, in opposition to the interests of the proletariat and other oppressed masses.

Gorbachev, in his book "Perestroyka and New Political Thinking for Our Country and the World," after rejecting as out of date Clausewitz's dictum that "war is an extension of policy by other means," advances the theory that war is no longer in the interest of any social group or social system. However, the history of international relations from World War II to the present day has been marked by incessant eruptions of local wars and gives lie to the theory that war is not an extension of policy by other means.

"New political thinking" claims to be a modern theory for international relations, and the sole philosophy for the foreign policy of all states in the modern age. In analyzing the essence of perestroyka and "new political thinking" as part of Soviet foreign policy, Comrade Ramiz Alia stresses: "Perestroyka and glasnost are necessary for Gorbachev's group in order to create the necessary conditions for the Soviet Union to follow the same road as the United States and to compete with the United States in spheres of influence and in expansion, in exploiting the peoples, and in exerting hegemony." (Ramiz Alia, "Our Enver," 1988, p 301)

In order to realize its strategic objectives in the international arena, the Soviet leadership is using new slogans, new tactics, and methods and practices which differ from those of earlier leaderships, that had given rise to many doubts and reservations in world public opinion about Soviet foreign policy.

Perestroyka claims to transform the entire structure of international relations in four principal fields: first, toward the democratization and humanization of international relations; second, in shifting the sphere of security from the military field to that of political influence; third, toward the use of technical-scientific potential for the common solution of global problems; and fourth, in the development of a community of all states and peoples and strengthening the stability of the general peace. At the same time, it seeks to show that the "era of detente" or of "a radical turning point toward peace and security in the world, toward the humanization of relations among states and peoples" is a fruit of this "new political philosophy," and thus seeks to gain political capital. In the final analysis, the aim is to maintain the status quo, i.e. imperialism and the capitalist order, and to eliminate every revolutionary liberation movement.

The first condition put forward for this general transformation is the removal of ideology from the theory of international relations themselves. In fact, the elimination of ideology from international relations is an old idea in the theory of such relations, to which "new political thinking" supplies a new context. The foreign policy of a state is presented purely as a phenomenon of international relations, with none of the relevance that it possessed in the past to domestic policies, the internal social system, social classes, and ideologies.

By making play with such phenomena as the continual internationalization of political, economic, and social life in the modern world and the exacerbation of such problems as the nuclear danger, environmental pollution, and many large and genuine world-scale issues, the Soviet revisionists preach to others that a state is no longer an expression of the interests of a definite class within or beyond the country, but is simply a unit in an interdependent world, for which the general interest must take precedence to national interests.

It is true that at present a reduction of tensions in various areas of the world is noticeable, alongside a spirit of understanding for solving a range of problems among different countries and peoples that must be judged positively and encouraged. However, this tendency, which is part of the normal fluctuation of things, cannot refute the Leninist theory that, under the conditions of imperialism, a deepening of contradictions within the system, expansionism, interimperialist rivalry, and aggression, and not the supraclass peace that Gorbachev advocates with his "new political philosophy," is the general rule.

Soviet "new political thinking" is an attempt to impose on other states the idea that interdependency extends to every field, even to the extent that sovereignty and national interest lose the importance they had. Gorbachev calls this a "balance of interests" of states in international relations. Of course, the interests of all peoples must be taken into consideration in the relationships between states, whether bilateral or multilateral, and in the broader context of discussions and relationships. However, the balance of interests sought by "new political thinking" presupposes that the interests that the United States and the Soviet Union project beyond their national borders and which they call essential or strategic should also be taken into consideration .

A "balance" of the interests of small and medium-sized states and peoples with those of the superpowers implies the subjugation of the interests of the former countries and peoples to the policies and strategies of the superpowers. This becomes clearer if we bear in mind that "new political thinking" does not leave nation states with an equal role or equal rights in the international community.

Gorbachev puts at the center of his doctrine his concept of the special responsibility of the two superpowers for the destiny of the world, and the special interests the superpowers possess over and above those of other states. In practice, this idea has found expression in the open monopolization of international problems by the United States and the Soviet Union. The fact that top-level Soviet-American meetings have now become an institution and a forum for discussion and decision-making on issues that belong to other peoples and states is one of the results of "new political thinking" in international relations.

Marxist-Leninists, in defending the class viewpoint in the interpretation of international events and relations, do not deny the importance and severity of global problems and global interests. Such problems as the nuclear danger, terrorism, the arms race, environmental pollution, hunger, drugs, etc., did not first arise during the time of perestroyka and do not require a fresh interpretation of international relations for the modern age. The reasons for the birth and growth of these problems lie in reactionary social systems and in the predatory policies of imperialism, colonialism, and neocolonialism.

The dangerous character of "new political thinking" is that it advocates a withdrawal from the struggle of the peoples, and the abandonment of national-liberation and revolutionary struggles, for these allegedly conflict with the general good. This not only hides the true origin of the world's current problems, but gives distorted indications for their solution.

Marxist-Leninist theory shows us that the proletariat, in alliance with progressive and freedom-loving forces, struggles toward solving and eliminating these negative phenomena, for the struggle and ideals of this revolutionary class assist the progress of human society and the establishment of international relations on the basis of equality.

The international community of states is made up of states with different social orders at different levels of development, with different historical and political traditions. This diversity of states and peoples must therefore be taken into consideration. The nature and aims of the ruling class in a given state cannot fail to influence the ties such a state creates in international relations, and the foreign policy it pursues, even though the theoreticians of "new political thinking" do not admit this. The interests of the classes in power in different states conflict at different times and in different areas, and unequal development and imperialism also produce conflicts and clashes not only among states with different social systems, but among those with the same exploitative social order.

"New political thinking," by seeking to extend the grasp and the military and political control of the major powers, seeks to preserve unchanged the relations of inequality between large and other states in the international community. The restructuring of international relations represents a structure which will always violate the independence and national identity of the countries and peoples over which the larger powers exercise their diktat.

In recent years, certain developments have been apparent in the international arena that cannot pass unnoticed. A kind of detente in U.S.-Soviet relations has had repercussions on the entire web of East-West relations and beyond. It is true that certain steps have been taken in disarmament, such as the agreement to eliminate intermediate-range nuclear missiles. Local conflicts in some regions are heading toward alleviation and solution. An agreement on Afghanistan was signed, and Soviet troops withdrew in February. A ceasefire was reached in the Iran-Iraq war, and an agreement was signed to grant independence to Namibia. Discussions have begun on the problems of Cambodia and the Western Sahara. However, these developments toward reduced tensions are a transient factor and not an inexorable trend in world life. They do indeed coincide with the period of perestroyka in Soviet foreign policy, but this does not in any sense mean that a true turning point in international relations can come from perestroyka. While it is true that the superpowers, with their treaties and decisions, have participated in and influenced a considerable proportion of the processes we mentioned earlier, it is also true that it was the superpowers who caused these conflicts themselves or encouraged them, and that it is now in their interests to end them. This shows once again that, if their strategic interests require it, the two superpowers can reopen these conflicts, just as they have stopped them. If the United States and the Soviet Union have been impelled by certain foreign and domestic reasons to end certain regional conflicts, the so-called "new political thinking" or the doctrine of defending global interests are nothing but propaganda veils to conceal these interests.

Both the Soviet Union and the United States have at present an interest in slackening the arms race in some respects. Moscow wants to release part of the funds that are at present allocated to weapons in order to devote them to improving technology and raising living standards within the country. The United States is also concerned with lessening the burden of large military expenditure, because the costly arms race robs the country of its former economic strength in matching its competitors, such as Western Europe and Japan, who are now emerging onto the political scene.

When we analyze this problem, we must bear in mind the fact that any step that limits or reduces the dangerous military presence and potential of the superpowers represents a positive development for the peoples. Therefore, realistic and progressive forces support those steps that genuinely help to reduce international tensions. They recognize that reduced tension, quite apart from whoever initiates it or its limited character, favorably influences the development of relations among states. Recent years have shown significantly the powerful role and potential of the struggle and pressure of the peoples and the whole of international public opinion in forcing the superpowers to embark on measures to withdraw their military presence from other regions. Developments in this direction are therefore a result of complex factors, and peoples and sovereign states cannot fail to bear them in mind when they define their positions in the international arena.

Seen in this light, it turns out that the problem of local conflicts, which has been reduced somewhat, does not mean that the superpowers have become more humane and peaceful. At present, the United States and the Soviet Union are concerned to damp down local conflicts, because the degree of their commitment to them was becoming ever harder to cope with economically, morally, and psychologically. The extent and intensity of local conflicts had even assumed such proportions as to jeopardize the relations between the superpowers themselves. When we talk about a reduction of regional conflicts, this still does not mean their disappearance from the international scene. The reasons and factors involved in their outbreak and in their use as tools in the aggressive and warmongering strategies of imperialism still exist and survive in international relations.

The historical experience of the peoples and of mankind in the present era show that if positive developments in international life are to prove durable, and if equal international relations are to be forged, these matters cannot and must not be left in the hands of the superpowers and their leaders. The relations between the United States and the Soviet Union and the confrontations and agreements between them influence the entire network of international relations and their continual deterioration and exacerbation would not be desirable.

The creation of relationships of equality, and the democratization and genuine humanization of international relations, cannot come from the political doctrines of the great imperialist powers. These things would necessarily involve the participation, with full rights, of all peoples and states in examining important issues of international life. The decisive factor in making something permanent out of positive phenomena and processes in international life remains the union of the efforts, will, and action of all the peoples and states of the world community. There can be no new kind of international relations without the efforts and active role of the peoples and sovereign states.

The philosophy of Soviet foreign policy, "new political thinking," attempts to secure conditions in the international arena which will consolidate and preserve the position of the Soviet Union as a superpower with global, hegemonistic ambitions. With its ideas, slogans, and all its foreign policies, it seeks to adapt Soviet tactics and strategies to new circumstances. Soviet strategy for world domination remains the same, and is merely reaching for new tools in "new political thinking" and perestroyka. Thus, it has turned these ideas into a dangerous modern political weapon of Soviet imperialism.

## Austrian Parliamentary Delegation on Visit

### Received by Malile

*AU1306184689 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 13 Jun 89*

[Text] Comrade Reis Malile, minister of foreign affairs of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, received the members of the Austrian parliamentary delegation headed by Gerulf Stix, vice president of the Nationalrat, at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs today, and held a warm and friendly conversation with them.

During the meeting, the relations of friendship and cooperation between Albania and Austria were discussed, and a common desire was expressed to extend and further them in different fields. Views were also exchanged about the international political situation in Europe, especially the state of the Balkans, and the efforts Albania and Austria are making to maintain peace and security.

Engjell Kolaneci, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of our country to Vienna, and Paul Leifer, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Republic of Austria to Tirana, were also present.

### Korbeci Receives Delegation

*AU1306184789 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 13 Jun 89*

[Text] Shame Korbeci, minister of foreign trade, had a cordial meeting today with the Austrian parliamentary delegation headed by Gerulf Stix, vice president of the Nationalrat.

The cooperation hitherto between Albania and Austria in various economic fields was discussed, as were current trends in the development of trade relations and opportunities for expanding them further in the future.

Gani Cemo, deputy chairman of the State Planning Commission, was also present at the meeting.

### Respects Paid at Hoxha's Grave

*AU1306184989 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 13 Jun 89*

[Text] The Austrian parliamentary delegation headed by Gerulf Stix, vice president of the Nationalrat, paid their respects at the graves of the martyrs of the nation and the grave of Comrade Enver Hoxha this morning. The delegation laid wreaths in front of the Mother Albania Monument and on the grave of Comrade Enver Hoxha, the leader of the Albanian people.

The delegation was accompanied at this ceremony by Ibrahim Hamza, deputy chairman of the People's Assembly, and Eduard Shehu, commander of the Tirana Garrison.

### Visits Museums in Kruje, Tirana

*AU1306185089 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 13 Jun 89*

[Text] The Austrian parliamentary delegation went to Kruje today, where it visited the Gjergj Kastrioti Skenderbeg Museum. Our Austrian guests learned about the struggle of the Albanian people for the freedom of their country, led by their national hero, Gjergj Kastrioti Skenderbeg. Gerulf Stix, vice president of the Austrian Nationalrat, wrote in the museum's visitors book:

As a deputy to the Austrian Parliament, during our visit to the national memorial center of the Albanian people, we felt strongly the freedom-loving spirit of these people.

Later, the members of the Austrian parliamentary delegation visited the National History Museum in the capital, where they learned about the history of the Albanian people through the centuries, their antifascist national liberation struggle, and their self-sacrificing labor for the nation's socialist construction. Gerulf Stix expressed his pleasure for his visit to this museum, where the Austrian parliamentary delegation visiting Albania learned about the history of the heroic and independent Albanian people. The delegation was accompanied by Ibrahim Hamza, deputy chairman of the People's Assembly.

Engjell Kolaneci, Albanian ambassador in Vienna, and Paul Leifer, Austrian ambassador to Tirana, were also present.

### Tours Cultural, Industrial Sites

*AU1506120389 Tirana ATA in English 0740 GMT 15 Jun 89*

[Text] Tirana, June 15 (ATA)—In continuation of its visits on June 14, the Austrian parliamentary delegation, headed by Gerulf Stix, co-chairman of the National Assembly, went to the district of Fier. It visited the ancient city of Apollonia, where it got acquainted with the monuments and achievements of the archaeological excavations displayed in the museum's halls. Then, the Austrian friends visited the Gogo Nushi Nitrate-Ammonium Plant, where they met with cadres and workers of this project and got acquainted with the development of chemical industry.

From there, the Austrian parliamentary delegation went to the city of Berat, where it visited the Onufri Museum in the Kala quarter of this city. Likewise, the Austrian friends visited the textile mill of this district, where they got acquainted with the work done here to promote production in the textile industry.

In honour of the Austrian parliamentary delegation, Kristaq Kule, chairman of the Executive Committee of the District People's Council, gave a dinner, which passed in a warm and friendly atmosphere.

In these visits, the delegation was escorted by the secretary of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, Sihat Tozaj.

Present were also Engjell Kolaneci, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the PSR [People's Socialist Republic] of Albania in Vienna, and Paul Leifer, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Austrian Republic in Tirana.

## Democratic Front General Council Endorses Report

*AU1406131889 Tirana ATA in English
0730 GMT 14 Jun 89*

[Text] Tirana, June 14 (ATA)—On June 13 the General Council of the Democratic Front of Albania [DFA] convened in one of the halls of the Museum of National History in Tirana to examine the report to be submitted at the 6th Congress of the DFA.

After listening to, the General Council unanimously endorsed the report "The Democratic Front—Broader Backing of the Party To Build Socialism" to be submitted by the chairwoman of the General Council of the DFA, Nexhmije Hoxha, to the 6th Congress of the DFA.

At the end of the meeting, Comrade Nexhmije Hoxha said:

A few days separate us from the beginning of the proceedings of our 6th Congress. The entire working masses are mobilized more than ever to translate into life the tasks of the 9th Congress of the party, the plenums of the Central Committee and the instructions of Comrade Ramiz Alia. The front organizations have intensified their work to see to the 6th Congress of the Democratic Front with fresh achievements. The esteemed considerations of Comrade Ramiz Alia for the front organizations in the meetings in Shkoder District, she went on, the instructions he gave and the set tasks inspire and mobilize us to work more vigorously to temper and steel the unity, to fulfill and overfulfill the tasks, to further consolidate the socialist norms in work and life.

I express my conviction, Comrade Nexhmije Hoxha said in conclusion, that all comrades as always will mobilize themselves still more to make the 6th Congress of the Democratic Front a great popular assembly, a powerful expression of the people's unity round the party, its Central Committee with Comrade Ramiz Alia at the head.

## Carcani Receives Outgoing DPRK Ambassador

*AU1406123089 Tirana ATA in English
0750 GMT 14 Jun 89*

[Text] Tirana, June 14 (ATA)—Comrade Adil Carcani, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the PSR [People's Socialist Republic] of Albania received on June 13 the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the DPR of Korea in Tirana, Pak Yong-si, on occasion of his transfer.

During the reception, which passed in a warm and friendly atmosphere, Comrade Adil Carcani pointed to the friendly ties existing between the Albanian people and Korean one and voiced his conviction that the friendly relations and cooperation between the two countries will develop and further promote to the benefit of the two peoples.

The reception was also attended by Muhamet Kapllani, foreign deputy minister.

## Further Tasks Set for Oil, Mining Industries

*AU1306085689 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT
in Albanian 6 Jun 89 p 1*

[Editorial: "Geology Faced With New Tasks"]

[Excerpts] As is well known, the party Central Committee Politburo recently analyzed one of the most important and decisive problems for the nation's productive capacity, that of guaranteeing reserves of oil, gas, and useful minerals. Assessing the great achievements of our geology sector, it also established important tasks which constitute a new program of work for party organizations, for the working collectives of geological enterprises, and for the institutions and the ministry responsible for this sector, in implementing the directives of the Ninth Party Congress. [passage omitted]

The most sensitive issue for the economy has been, and remains, the oil sector. However, certain important targets of work in this sector, such as investments in drilling and prospecting and in exploitation, have not kept pace with the tasks of the plan in recent years. Therefore, the identification of new sources of oil and gas, and more intensive extraction from present sources to at least meet the country's requirements and cover the hard currency that is spent on oil, are matters of particular importance for communists, cadres, specialists, and working people in oil. This calls for a higher standard of work in research, planning, and execution, a higher standard of thinking in geology, more skill in interpreting data that is obtained from the geological-geophysical complex, and tighter scientific and technical discipline at all levels of the geological sector, from enterprises and institutions to the General Oil and Gas Management Board.

The state of the reserves of useful minerals is in general satisfactory. There have been significant achievements in identifying new resources and adding to current reserves. There are considerable chrome reserves, and the prospects are clear. This testifies to higher standards of quality in research and planning work and to a series of other measures that have been taken in carrying out the tasks of the mass action announced for this purpose 2 years ago.

Apart from this, a primary task for this important sector remains a increased pace in identifying rich reserves of minerals. The quantities of reserves made ready for work must better match production. The Politburo therefore set important tasks for working on a broad front, with mass actions and concentrated energies, in order to raise the level of geological and economic scientific thinking, to use the most advanced methods in research and extraction, and to complete large-scale projects in the chrome extracting and processing industry. The new targets that the builders and assemblers at the Elbasan ferrochrome plant have set themselves call for more intensive work and higher investment in identifying reserves and opening new mines in Librazhd and Pogradec Districts. [passage omitted]

Talking about the special importance of mining, Comrade Ramiz Alia stressed that it is a vanguard industry in the socialist industrialization of the country. It involves using one's eyes and brain to penetrate deep into the heart of the earth, applying the most sophisticated sciences. For this reason, there must be more care and support in all fields. State and economic bodies and trade union organizations at the center and the base must take the necessary measures and be more careful in supplying the necessary support, not only with mining tools and equipment, but also in further improving labor and living conditions among work gangs and on prospecting expeditions. Party organizations must carry out their role, and exercise constant control in these fields, without making any concessions. [passage omitted]

## Turkish Workers Apply for Visas, Affect Manpower

### Editorial Notes 'Crucial Period'

*AU1406191989 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 13 Jun 89 p 1*

[Editorial: "Elementary Truths"]

[Text] We have entered a crucial period. The harvest is ripening in the fields, the fruit and vegetables must be collected and fully utilized, and stock-breeding requires our attention.

It is evident that the times require us to concentrate our forces. Both workers and management must apply their efforts, organizational skills, and willpower to the task of completing all agricultural operations normally. Questions of discipline and getting the most out of every hour of work become matters of very great importance. This relates to both the agricultural workers and all other workers—in industry, construction, transport, trade, and everywhere. The matter concerns not only labor discipline, but also technological, state, financial, and civic discipline.

However, recently facts have come to light that give rise to alarm. There are many cases of absence without leave, unexplained absences, and failures to make full use of working time. The fulfillment of the plan tasks is threatened, the fate of a number of agricultural crops is placed in question, and the condition of the animals in a number of places in the country arouses alarm.

Yet surely the leading, determining factor in one's personal plans, in the state's budget plans, and in the intentions of the trusts and enterprises, brigades and agro-industrial complexes, is for normal work to continue, for much to be produced, and especially for supplies of goods to be substantially improved. How will we achieve this if there is a lack of the required strict discipline, if willful absences from work and prolonged interruption of the normal working rhythm are not treated with the necessary firmness and strictness?

Every late arrival or nonappearance at work has its own explanation. It is one thing if there are valid reasons, but quite another when labor contract obligations are quite irresponsibly disregarded and obstacles created for the collective in its concern for fulfilling the plans. These days there are especially large numbers of cases of absenteeism where people have decided to make use of their right to go on a trip abroad. One asks what there can be in common between a clear procedure established for submission of the relevant documents and failure to report at work?

It is wrong for anyone to seek justifications for breaching discipline and holding up the normal rhythm of activity in his collective. Everyone should be reminded of this, and it should provide a motive for taking measures in every collective. Everyone should be brought to account for breaches of discipline in the appropriate manner established by the labor legislation. There is no place for condoning everything; there can be no easy-going attitudes.

Accordingly, the issue first and foremost touches upon the consciousness of every citizen in our native land. To continue our usual activity, to work well and smoothly—this is the chief thing that is required by our own consciences, by our labor contract, by morality, and by the interests of the individual and society.

The matter also concerns the immediate overcoming of the conciliatory and easy-going attitudes shown by a number of economic leaders. How is it possible not to immediately react to the slightest breach of labor discipline? Surely the Labor Code includes measures both for rewarding excellent work and for punishing breaches of discipline? Is it really necessary for anyone to remind the economic and administrative leaders of the need to strictly carry out their management obligations?

Summer is a time for vacations. It is not superfluous to give the reminder that vacations are planned and arranged with reference to the needs of society as well as to personal interests. It is therefore unthinkable that any difficulties in maintaining normal work in the summer months should arise as the result of badly drawn up vacation schedules.

High discipline, order, good organization, making full use of working hours, a normal working rhythm in every labor collective—these are some of the most important tasks of the day. Explanatory political activity will produce its favorable results only if it is combined with clear economic and administrative measures; there can be no compromises in this respect.

We all want to enjoy a better life.

There is only one condition for this, namely for us to work increasingly better, because, as it has been often said, we will live as we work. For wealth does not shower down from heaven, it is created by man's labor.

These elementary truths must not be forgotten.

### Government Reacts to 'Situation'

*AU1406190989 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 12 Jun 89 p 1*

[Editorial: "Organization, Responsibility, Discipline"]

[Text] It is well known that a part of the Islamized population, under the influence of foreign propaganda, decided to utilize the opportunities to travel and stay abroad, afforded by the new, more democratic legal system. In this context, many workers from the industrial and agricultural enterprises are leaving work to get their documents in order and prepare for their planned change. Many of them experienced painful hesitations, got carried away by the artificially created psychosis, but also fear the uncertainty that awaits them.

Democracy is democracy, despite the fact that the adventurist use of its fruits may confront mixed-up heads with problems of life, that can be eliminated only with great difficulty. This is so, because the economic and social reality in neighboring Turkey is well known. It is an open question as to what you are to receive there, under conditions of great unemployment and mass poverty, after leaving a sheltered life here.

One way or another, some people are leaving, and their workplaces remain vacant. However, our society has its own supreme and lasting interests. It cannot allow a deterioration of its economy, precisely when certain strategic issues of restructuring are being solved. The government is taking this new situation into consideration, and adopts decisive measures for improving discipline and activating the labor collectives for implementing the plan.

First of all, disciplinary and material responsibility will be sought from persons who are absent from work without a reason, who violate the laws and labor discipline, and who inflict damage to the enterprises. This will be done in accordance with the Labor Code, the Penal Code, and other legal documents. Among other things this means that everyone, who wants to file a request to leave the country, may do so. However, as long as he is here, he must behave in accordance with our laws and regulations, and carry out his duties.

As far as the workplaces that have become vacant are concerned, they will not remain idle; not even for a day or for 1 hour. People must begin to work there, so that there is not a single unit that hinders the general progress of our national economic complex. Where are we going to find those people? This answer received a categorical answer—from the circles of the employees and pensioners. They can join production in regions in which there is an acute shortage of manpower, and will continue to receive their previous wage pensions, as well as remuneration for their work. Naturally, the permanent workplaces of the employees will be preserved for them. Simultaneously, workers from certain enterprises without a heavy workload, will be transferred or sent to the regions, in which there are difficulties. In such cases, the wages of those workers will be increased by a coefficient of 1.3. In addition they will receive expenses, which will be paid by the enterprise to which they have been assigned.

In order to overcome difficulties in production, whenever necessary, the leaders of enterprises, in coordination with the trade union organs, can introduce extended worktime, or work according to a 3- or 6-month schedule. A certain number of military personnel will be directed to work as mechanical equipment operators in agriculture and other key sectors of material production. Pupil and student brigades will join the harvesting of agricultural produce in the regions in which there is a shortage of manpower. We can also rely on students from the senior classes of technical and professional-technical schools, who will be directed to work in the agricultural organizations and enterprises.

Apart from all this, measures are being adopted to prevent speculations in selling dwellings and cattle. The dwellings will be purchased by the people's councils, while the cattle of the private plots will be purchased by the agroindustrial complexes and other agricultural organizations. For their part, the Ministries of Culture, Science, and Education, and of Public Health and Social Welfare will provide the necessary cadres for the needed education and health protection in the municipalities, in which there is a shortage of teachers and medical personnel.

All these measures obviously are necessary and sensible, and their consistent implementation will render results. But this is, so to say, the mandatory, state contribution to overcoming the difficulties. At the same time we must ask the following question: Is this not precisely now the moment when our economy could decisively eliminate many of its shortcomings? Why after so many reorganizations and reconstructions, and after the introduction of so many new technologies, the volume of production and administrative personnel has not decreased, or is decreasing extremely slowly? The necessity of a total mobilization of the existing capacities is obvious; but is not the best organization also the best mobilization? Are the new forms also a guarantee of a better organization and a comprehensive improvement of social production, or do they simply dress obsolete methods and habits in new and fashionable clothes?

The governmental measures are not only a call to fill the vacant workplaces. They prompt every enterprise, every economic organization to analyze the methods through which they implement their tasks. In this context, the report from Ruse, we publish in the first page of our newspaper, is a good example. It is significant that the metallurgy workers from Ruse began to take care of their situation alone, without awaiting instructions from the center. Perhaps precisely for cases such as the present one, our wise people have coined the proverb: "a blessing in disguise." Of course, the fact that a wise proverb can only be confirmed in life by wise actions, is another matter. This means that we could succeed in our work only if we recruit the conscious participation of the labor collectives. Precisely here and precisely now the trade union organizations could find their real role as organizers and spokesmen of workers' proposals for the general improvement of production organization. We are obliged to openly confront the people with the truth, that now patriotism means high organization, responsibility, discipline, frugality, mutual substitution, and initiative.

The trade union organs will agree or disagree to extending the worktime. This also is a great responsibility, because the mechanical extension of worktime is a two-edged sword if it is not accompanied by a comprehensive restructuring of the internal organization mechanisms of material-technical supplies, and the synchronization between various processes and units. All this depends on the people, their interest, and the fact whether they will take an important part in resolving the issues, or shall be turned again into mute executors. The extraordinary situation in which we find ourselves, does not allow us to cut the tender roots of self-management. On the contrary—it precisely is the overcoming of the extraordinary difficulties that requires us to comprehensively rely on the wisdom and initiative of the labor collectives, and first of all, on the trade union organizations.

### Plant Faces Manpower Shortage

*AU1406153189 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian*
*12 Jun 89 pp 1, 2*

[Report by TRUD correspondent Khristo Dimov: "Reserves of the Metalworkers"—date not given]

[Excerpts] I must admit, I was surprised to see him by the machine. I knew that he was already a pensioner, having left for a well-earned rest after many years working at the plant.

"That is true, but since our help was needed, we were ready to come without being asked," said Lyuben Tsirkov, Hero of Socialist Labor, with a smile, and he pointed to another white-haired figure not far away, who was bent over the rotating drums of the unit: "That's Todor Kalchev over there, he is the same age as me...."

An ordinary working day in the wire-drawing shop of the "Zhiti" State Factory in Ruse. This is the "heart" of the production process. [passage omitted]

"At the beginning of June we perceived a serious fall in the rhythm of production, and labor discipline deteriorated," Metodi Borisov, deputy chief of the shop, told me. He is also secretary of the primary party organization in the main production division. "More frequent applications for leave started to come in for the most varied reasons, and cases of absenteeism appeared. The reasons are well known. Some of our workers took off to arrange foreign travel passports for themselves. We did not stop our explanatory work for a moment, we talked to everyone individually, but we realized that we would not get by with this alone. Vigorous organizational measures were needed, and proposals flooded in from the collective itself. Wire-drawer Dimitur Khristov was the first to propose that we should work Saturdays and load additional work on the men, so that the machines would not stand idle. Others also supported the proposal, and the entire collective approved it. The shop must ensure a smooth supply of material to the other sections and make urgent deliveries to other enterprises. This is why, relying on workers with many years of experience, we made a new schedule, and specified the tasks for each worker according to his professional qualifications and the place he occupies in the technological process. We entrusted many of them with minding two or more machines. We also called in a number of pensioners, on whom we can always rely. I wish to point out with satisfaction that we met with complete understanding from the men." [passage omitted]

"Naturally, all this rests on a strong material basis," said Yordan Katrandzhiev, joining in the conversation. "We immediately organized a special competition, the results of which are announced every week, with the award of additional incentives. We also gave it the necessary publicity. In addition, we held a meeting and adopted conditions for providing additional incentives for those workers who fulfill their individual monthly plans by over 150 percent, offering bonuses of 50, 40, 30, and 20 leva depending on the degree of overfulfillment. Although we are lagging behind the production schedule at present, the work is now going well and we are sure that we will end the month successfully." [passage omitted]

A further reserve of no less importance is now appearing. More and more of the "vacationers" are returning to their workplaces, many of them permanently. This makes everyone happy, and increases faith in the unity and strength of the collective. It is precisely from this point that the road starts toward the great goal: fulfillment and overfulfillment of the production program, and consolidation of the company's prestige.

### More on Manpower Difficulties

*AU1406151489 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian*
*13 Jun 89 p 1*

[Georgi Grigorov report: "Patriotism Is Stronger Than Difficulties"]

[Excerpts] On Monday [12 June] morning I tried to contact by telephone the leaders of some food industry plants in Shumen. Nobody answered. There was no response from the plants "Dairy Products," "Rodopa," and the "Bread Factory." The telephones of the offices of the other plants were also silent. This was the reason that I decided to tour the industrial zone and see how the labor week was beginning in the enterprises, where certain difficulties have been created by workers using the opportunity of traveling abroad. Some work places remained empty, but the stores must have sufficient quantities of milk, bread, and cooking oil. It turned out that almost all employees had reported to their workplaces. At the "Dairy Products" Enterprise Director Engineer Kharizanov had just issued an order to some of the employees to work in the shops. Supplies of milk to the enterprise have decreased, however, the bookkeepers, planning clerks, and other employees diligently worked, and maintained with some strain the pace of production. Trucks with milk, cheese, and yellow cheese headed for the stores. There also were no problems at the "Rodopa" Enterprise. [passage omitted]

The pace of production at the "Bread and Pastry" Enterprise has not been obstructed. This was confirmed by the director, engineer Stoyanova, who said that the plant will succeed in implementing its daily plan for supplying the stores through its own manpower and a little bit of extra effort, but without seeking outside help. [passage omitted]

The organizational workers of the municipal council of the trade unions constantly are among the labor collectives and provide on the spot assistance and cooperation for solving the difficult problems that have emerged. They require strict labor discipline and do not allow any compromises with those who violate it. Every case of absenteeism from work without a reason is being punished. Everyone must be at his workplace until the moment that he must leave for abroad [tryabva da izleze v chuzhbina]. Despite the fact that a portion of the personnel of the "Madara," "Alumina," "Edinstvo," and "Iglika" Enterprises; the "Patrizanka" Tobacco Combine; Panayot Volov Chemical Enterprise; the Instruments and Nonstandard Equipment Plant, and others, have left, the enterprises have quickly reorganized their production and all production tasks for the month of June will be implemented. Now the collectives have rallied even stronger, and they will prove that they can cope with all difficulties.

Patriotism is stronger than the difficulties.

## Media Coverage of Turkish Minority Issue Viewed

*AU1406135089*

[Editorial Report] As of 14 June, Bulgarian media monitored at Austria bureau have not been observed to carry any reports related to the mass expulsion of Bulgarian Muslims and the plight of the Turkish minority, as reported by Turkish and other Western media.

During the period since the editorial report on the anti-Turkish campaign in the Bulgarian press, the central Bulgarian newspapers, Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian in its daily newscasts, and Sofia BTA in English continue to deal frequently, but not constantly, with the Turkish minority issue. The daily press and the Sofia Domestic Service broadcasts have published and reported letters of Bulgarian citizens to leading party and state organs, in support of Zhivkov's 29 May statement on ethnic unrest and national unity. The letters contain praise for Zhivkov's statement and usually point out the economic and social achievements of the Bulgarian regions populated by Bulgarian Muslims. In addition, the Bulgarian dailies carry statements in support of Zhivkov's statement issued by various public and professional organizations.

Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian on 13 June on page 2 carries such statements issued by the union of Bulgarian translators, the Vidin Defense Support Organization, and various citizens, all stressing the importance of patriotism and national unity. Although some of the letters denounce "leading circles in Turkey," for their "slanderous anti-Bulgarian campaign," to date no Bulgarian newspaper or radio newscast monitored by Austria bureau have been observed to mention the issue of deporting Bulgarian Muslims to Turkey. The fact that Bulgarian citizens of Muslim origin travel to Turkey was mentioned in the BTA report of the ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME interview with Georgi Yordanov, head of the foreign passports department of the ministry of internal affairs, in which he addressed himself to a question about the "announcements made by some Turkish sources that some Bulgarian citizens, having crossed the border between Bulgaria and Turkey, tore their passports into pieces."

While the newspapers and BTA continue to carry material on restoration of Muslim religious monuments in Bulgaria, Zhivkov receiving the Turkish ambassador on his "final departure," or developments at the Paris Human Rights Conference, to date nothing has been mentioned about any other aspects of the Bulgarian Muslims issue.

An issue which continues to attract attention in the media is the one of the new passport regulations. Officials such as Khristo Tepavicharov, head of the legal affairs and treaty department at the ministry of foreign affairs; Georgi Yordanov, head of the foreign passports department of the ministry of internal affairs; and Georgi Tanev, minister of internal affairs, addressed the issue and stressed that "every Bulgarian citizen is allowed to travel abroad." However, their interviews and other newspaper articles related to the issue, refrain from mentioning any deportations of Bulgarian Muslims.

## Zhivkov Receives Leader of Canadian Senate

*AU1506093889 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 15 Jun 89*

[Text] State Council Chairman Todor Zhivkov received Guy Charbonneau, speaker of the Canadian Senate, who is visiting Bulgaria at the invitation of the National Assembly. During the conversation they discussed issues concerning the relations between Bulgaria and Canada and the possibilities for activating bilateral cooperation.

Stanko Todorov, chairman of the National Assembly, and Terence Charles Bacon, the Canadian ambassador, took part in the meeting.

## Mladenov Receives New United Kingdom Ambassador

*AU1406195989 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1930 GMT 14 Jun 89*

[Text] On 14 June Petur Mladenov, minister of foreign affairs, received Richard Thomas, the newly appointed UK ambassador to Bulgaria, in connection with his forthcoming presentation of credentials.

Bulgaria's willingness was expressed to develop and expand bilateral relations with the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland in the interest of the two countries, and peace and cooperation in Europe and the world.

## Danchev Meets Gusev, Visiting USSR Delegation

*AU1406161489 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1500 GMT 14 Jun 89*

[Text] On 14 June, Comrade Petko Danchev, chairman of Biotechnological and Chemical Industry Association, met a Soviet delegation led by Vladimir Gusev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers. The state of bilateral cooperation was reviewed. The specific results of the activity of joint trusts and enterprises in the medical, microbiological, petroleum refining and petrochemical industries, machine building, pharmaceuticals, membrane technologies, and other areas of mutual interest, were discussed. The implementation of the long-range program on specialization, production sharing, and scientific-technical cooperation in producing chemical plant protection agents [words indistinct].

## Results of USSR Deputies Congress Examined

*AU1406132589 Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT in Bulgarian 12 Jun 89 p 1*

[Editorial: "Restructuring Passed a Difficult Test"]

[Text] The results of the work accomplished by the USSR Congress of People's Deputies will continue to be the subject of detailed commentaries for a long time. It will evoke lively disputes and discussions and it will be regarded as the exceptionally important criterion for a new development of Soviet society. The congress will be viewed from the most diversified points of view. It will be evaluated from different aspects. Nevertheless, the main point on which everyone should agree will be the truly revolutionary nature of this most recent event.

Glasnost played the most important role in those unforgettable days of the congress. We can definitely state that glasnost has become a permanently established factor on the Soviet political scene, a factor which everyone should take into consideration. A real flood of protest letters and telegrams submerged the Kremlin Palace as soon as some deputies proposed that direct broadcasts from the Congress Hall should be stopped. Thanks to the television screen, millions of Soviet people, but also people all over the world, watched how Soviet democracy was built. They watched the development of the the new Soviet parliament, which controls all state organs and departments, including the Ministries of Defense and Internal Affairs, and the Committee for State Security. The live relays from the Congress Hall transformed the Congress of People's Deputies into a nationwide congress.

The CPSU is the initiator of restructuring. Nevertheless, all these revolutionary processes would have been doomed to total failure if all strata of Soviet society had not been involved in them. This is the reason that, in leaving behind the animated congress debates, which already belong to the past, we can confidently assert that, despite the great diversity of opinions, despite the large spectrum of problems that emerged, the Soviet people, through the deputies they elected, fully support the fundamental ideas of restructuring adopted by the CPSU as a result of the April 1985 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, and especially at the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference. A nationwide agreement on the further development of the Soviet state, based on democratic principles, was actually reached at the congress session. The conviction that there is no alternative to the party's ideas on further restructuring and that they are fully supported by the broad masses of the peoples was confirmed.

The USSR Congress of People's Deputies, which just ended, was a convincing climax in the first stage of Soviet political reform. The new supreme organ of legislative power will represent an exceptionally important guarantee for the irreversible nature of the initiated processes, which are aimed at fundamental changes and are still facing difficult problems awaiting solutions. The elected Soviets are building up the modern, socialist parliamentary structure. Mikhail Gorbachev's election to the post of head of state is certainly a factor of primary importance. His name is justifiably linked to all truly revolutionary processes which are underway in the country's domestic policy.

The USSR Congress of People's Deputies provides tremendous opportunities for collectively searching for solutions, for seeking methods of renewing Soviet society, and for accelerating the development of restructuring and socioeconomic progress. The congress unanimously agreed that the current, fundamental changes in the economic and social spheres are the decisive factors in this development. The initiated re-orientation in these sectors could not but win the approval of the people's deputies. Improving the living standard of the Soviet population's less privileged strata was defined as a priority trend in the country's future social policy within the forthcoming years. The congress debates convincingly proved that the paths of solving Soviet economic problems are clearly defined and mapped out. The program submitted in Mikhail Gorbachev's and Nikolay Ryzhkov's reports is realistic. Its main targets are the further implementation of a radical economic reform and the adaptation of all economic units to work under a system of full economic cost accounting and self-financing and the orientation toward a large-scale application of the land-lease and cooperative systems. This program provides vast opportunities for the energies and initiative of courageous people and deprives bureaucracy, which lived on the fruit of other people's labor.

The further progress of the Soviet economy was clearly and unmistakably defined. It is beyond doubt that a new economic model will be built through the further development of reform in the Soviet Union. The real interests of the individual will be the main goals of this new economic system.

The fundamental, revolutionary changes in the domestic life of the USSR led to considerable changes in the country's foreign policy activities. The people's deputies at the congress expressed their support for the further development of new political thinking which is aimed at the priorities of universal human values. Based on the principle of non-interference in each other's domestic affairs and on equal security and mutual advantage, Soviet foreign policy provides vast opportunities for useful dialogue with all states in the world for the sake of a peaceful future on our planet.

The Congress of People's Deputies viewed and confirmed the principles of the country's future domestic policy on a legislative basis. This is an absolutely correct strategic line based on fundamental principles such as: The country's security shall be mainly guaranteed through political means; nuclear weapons shall be eliminated on the basis of agreements; the use of force and the threat of using force in pursuing political, economic, or any other goals is inadmissible; dialogue and negotiations based on the principles of mutual interests shall replace confrontation; the Soviet economy will be integrated with the world economy on the basis of mutual advantage and equal rights. The Soviet people understood, readily accepted, and supported this program adopted by the Congress of People's Deputies.

## Delegation Head Kulishev Queried on Paris Forum

*AU1406122789 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 11 Jun 89 p 5*

[Interview with Lyuben Kulishev, leader of the Bulgarian delegation to the Paris Conference on the Human Dimension of the CSCE by RABOTNICHESKO DELO correspondent Panteley Karasimeonov: "The Constructive Approach Prevails"—on 10 June in Paris]

[Text] The Paris conference on the human dimension of the all-European process has been going on for almost 3 weeks. After reviewing the implementation of the Vienna agreements, the delegations at the Paris forum are expected to discuss the proposals on further intensifying cooperation in the humanitarian sphere until the end of the forum, scheduled for 23 June. Our correspondent asked Lyuben Kulishev, leader of the Bulgarian delegation, a few questions related to his evaluation of the proceedings at the conference:

[Karasimeonov] Can you describe your impressions from the first stage of the conference?

[Kulishev] We can truly assume that the first stage of the Conference on the Human Dimension of the all-European process was concluded after the second week of debates. To a certain extent, this stage could be described as a stage of assessment and evaluation.

The general evaluation of the most recent proceedings is certainly positive. The agreement expressed by all participants related to the human dimension of the all-European process and their political will to conscientiously fulfill all international commitments in this sphere is particularly important in this respect. It was convincingly confirmed that, regardless of certain differences in the sphere of human rights which sometimes provoked sharp disputes, this is one of the spheres in which international cooperation is necessary and possible for the sake of our common interests. The new political thinking is gradually penetrating this sphere of international relations. Along with this, it became generally evident that the proceedings of the Paris conference which were pursued until now are ambiguous. Along with the positive trends, we can discern certain negative phenomena.

[Karasimeonov] Could you describe these phenomena in more detail?

[Kulishev] These negative aspects of the Paris conference are related to the peculiar approach of certain delegations to international cooperation in the sphere of human rights and on other humanitarian issues. This approach is evidently connected with certain cliches of the past, with certain outdated concepts inherited from the old way of thinking. The most characteristic and most negative manifestation of this approach was the "double standard" applied by certain Western delegations in evaluating the implementation of the commitments in the sphere of human rights, resulting from the Vienna agreements. This one-sided approach was manifested in two directions. Unjustified accusations against given countries were hinted at, or supported, on the one hand, while real violations of human rights committed in other countries were passed over in silence because of ideological considerations, or on the grounds of political alliance. The most eloquent example in this respect, which was sharply denounced by the Bulgarian delegation, was the support of certain Western states for the slanderous attacks launched by the Turkish delegation against Bulgaria. The Western delegations at the same time failed to mention the gross violations committed against the human rights of minorities in Turkey.

Another despicable manifestation of this "double standard" was represented by the effort of certain Western delegations to describe the socialist countries as the only ones who have allegedely failed to fulfill their international commitments in the sphere of human rights, by assuming the arrogant and patronizing attitude of self-appointed judges who, having fulfilled all their obligations in this sphere, should be entitled to lecture and censure other countries.

The slanderous attacks of the Turkish delegation against Bulgaria most sharply contrasted with the constructive spirit of the conference. The Bulgarian delegation responded to these attacks in a firm and dignified manner.

[Karasimeonov] The policy of the People's Republic of Bulgaria on the human dimension of the all-European process evoked the approval of the majority of countries participating in the conference. What stand does our delegation intend to adopt in the second stage of the conference?

[Kulishev] Bulgaria appeared at the Paris forum with a positive assessment of the fulfillment of its commitments resulting from the human dimension of the all-European process. Comrade Todor Zhivkov's statement of 29 May 1989, which was widely propagated at the conference, as well as the statement by Foreign Minister Petur Mladenov, were important contributions to the consolidation of the constructive spirit prevailing at the conference. The other statements of our delegation at the conference and the active participation of the group of Bulgarian public figures also contributed to this spirit.

Our delegation will further pursue its constructive policy in the second stage of the conference, which is expected to discuss proposals on improving the fulfillment of commitments related to human rights and international cooperation in this sphere. We are ready to submit our own proposals and to support all constructive initiatives that may be suggested by the other delegations.

## Iranian Petroleum Minister Visits, Holds Talks

### Danchev Receives Minister

*AU1406144289 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1300 GMT 14 Jun 89*

[Text] On 14 June Petko Danchev, chairman of Biotechnological and Chemical Industry Association, had a talk with Gholamreza Aqazadeh, Iranian minister of petroleum. Mutual willingness and specific opinions related to long-range cooperation in the petrochemical and petroleum refining industry and an increase in trade exchange were expressed during the meeting. The broad prospects that have emerged for investment activity in constructing capacities for the production of fertilizes, pesticides, and highty refined petroleum and natural gas products, were also discussed.

### Khristov Receives Minister

*AU1406192789 Sofia BTA in English 1902 GMT 14 Jun 89*

[Text] Sofia, June 14 (BTA)—Minister Gholamreza Aqazadeh had a meeting with Mr Khristo Khristov, minister in the ministry of foreign economic relations, chairman of the Bulgarian section of the Bulgaro-Iranian Commission for Economic and Techno-Scientific Cooperation. The desire to intensify further relations in petrochemistry and oil refining is in compliance with the common efforts of Bulgaria and Iran to improve the range of their economic cooperation, which has so far had good results. Goods exchange is developing. The export on the part of Bulgaria includes products of the machine building, electronics and electrotechnique, the chemical products as well as consumer goods. Iran exports to Bulgaria petroleum and recently it started the export of industrial goods.

It is expected that the present talks will bring to a further development of relations in petrochemistry and oil refining. Similar prospects are also outlined in machine building, agriculture, transport and other spheres.

## Tanchev Receives Pakistani Party Delegation

*AU0806201089 Sofia BTA in English 1915 GMT 8 Jun 89*

[Text] Sofia, June 8 (BTA)—Mr Petur Tanchev, secretary of the Bulgarian Agrarian Party (BZNS) and first vice president of the State Council, today received a delegation of the ruling Pakistan People's Party (PPP), led by Sheikh Mohammed Rashid, first deputy chairman of the party, who are visiting here at the invitation of the BZNS Standing Committee.

The sides considered the opportunities for the promotion of relations between the BZNS and the Pakistan People's Party.

Sheikh Mohammed Rashid commended highly Bulgaria's achievements in her socio-economic development.

Support was expressed at the meeting for the positive changes in the world, for the efforts towards disarmament, towards strengthening peace and international understanding. The progress in the settlement of a number of regional conflicts was welcomed and an emphasis was laid on the great importance of the Geneva accords on Afghanistan which provide a sound basis for the restoration of peace in the entire region.

## Stoyanov Gives BCP Greetings Address 11 Jun

*AU1406160489 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 12 Jun 89 p 2*

["Greeting Address" on behalf of the BCP Central Committee, delivered by Dimitur Stoyanov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and Central Committee secretary, at ceremony held on 11 June in Slavovitsa, Plovdiv Oblast, to mark Aleksandur Stamboliyski's 110th birth anniversary]

[Text] The Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] Central Committee, the Central Committee Politburo, and the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, as well as Comrade Todor Zhivkov, personally, greet all of you who have come here to these memorable sites where the 1923 September uprising took place,namely to the heroic village of Slavovitsa, to mark the 66th anniversary of the June uprising and the 110th birth anniversary of Aleksandur Stamboliyski, the ideologist and leader of the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union [BZNS].

Our people are proud of their ancient history. Great statesmen, writers, and educators, loyal fighters who struggled with their pens and swords for freedom and the people's rights, are speaking to us from the pages of Bulgarian history, generation after generation. They are urging us to accomplish our duties in loyal service to the Bulgarian kin and to our motherland.

The name of Aleksandur Stambolyiski is shining with unique glory among all these names. He was a great democrat, an indomitable fighter against monarchy and militarism, a writer, and an ardent champion of freedom, a remarkable statesman and builder of Bulgaria in the early period following our country's liberation.

Aleksandur Stamboliyski perished in the full bloom of his manhood, at the early age of 44, while he was striving for a glorious historical goal: the establishment of a people's government. This is the reason that his life did not end here, in Slavovitsa, and why his contribution to Bulgarian history did not end with his death on 14 June 1923. His spirit was also with the people in September 1923, in September 1944, and in the years of socialist construction. He is still with us today; he will be with us tomorrow and forever.

The June uprising in 1923 was cruelly suppressed. Both the BCP and the BZNS learned a lesson from this tragedy and they made their evaluations and their conclusions.

The alliance and unity of action between the workers class, the peasants, and the people's intelligentsia in the struggle against monarchal fascism was a historic necessity. The lower strata of the people were slowly becoming aware of this necessity as early as at the time of the Vladaya uprising, and this awareness increased later on, in June and September 1923, when it developed as a platform of people's unity against monarchy and fascism during the years of the antifascist struggle and in the 9 September 1944 victory, and was finally consolidated in the united people's Fatherland Front which was our salvation. Georgi Dimitrov was the first to understand the lessons of those events and it was no coincidence that he became the strategist, not only of the Bulgarian, but of the worldwide united front movement.

Aleksandur Stamboliyski is the brilliant example of a political personality, of an irreconcilable fighter against monarchy, of a convinced democrat and republican, of a great statesman in Bulgaria's post-liberation history, a man who ended his heroic life with an appeal to the Communists, not only for assistance, but for political alliance, for a workers-peasants coalition government.

The strike of the reactionaries at the Aleksandur Stamboliyski government in June 1923 was successful, primarily because the BCP and the BZNS were divided. The Communists and the united agrarians did not forget this lesson of history. It will not be forgotten in the future!

The lessons of the workers-peasants alliance began in the period in which history arranged a meeting between the BCP and the BZNS on the political scene. These lessons are embodied in the foundations of the contemporary Bulgarian state. The sense of statesman-like responsibility which inspired Aleksandur Stamboliyski and his patriotism are making him our contemporary.

For this reason, we the Bulgarian Communists, and all working people are paying well-deserved tribute to him and to his cause. This cause was crowned by the communist-agrarian brotherhood, by the political alliance between the two ruling parties in close cooperation with all strata of the Bulgarian people.

We are fully justified in stating: The People's Republic of Bulgaria is a socialist state, based on a naturally developing political pluralism stemming from historical roots, rich traditions, and experience.

The communist-agrarian brotherhood and political alliance has never been and will never be subject to opportunism.

This is a specifically Bulgarian feature of our socialist development, of our state's development.

This alliance was most profoundly evaluated and considered at the BCP Central Committee April Plenum.

This policy was further pursued in recent years and it will develop along with the development and improvement of our political system, along with the expansion of the current democratic processes in our country. This is one of the great credits earned by the April Plenum.

This is the reason that the BZNS and all social organizations, movements, religious communities, and all generations of Bulgarians are now supporting the BCP's restructuring policy.

It is not accidental that a new, nationwide movement establishing committees of political and social forces under the Fatherland Front has most recently emerged in some settlements and municipalities.

The July Concept of the BCP which was unanimously supported and adopted by the BZNS indicates the methods of revolutionary restructuring socialist society in Bulgaria. The recent meeting between the BCP Central Committee Politburo and the BZNS Permanent Board confirmed our resolve to further promote our mutual relations in the work aimed at implementing economic and political reform, in expanding socialist democracy and self-management.

The experience of revolutionary changes in our country, acquired since the December Plenum of the BCP Central Committee, which opened the path of company-based organization, shows that restructuring can be successfully implemented, provided that the ideas of the July Concept can inspire millions of people.

It is our lofty goal to achieve a qualitatively new stage in the development of Bulgarian agriculture and the Bulgarian village. Directions and trends were mapped out in this respect. We are going to join our forces in these efforts; we will march in the first ranks of the innovators in implementing this cause. By setting a personal example, we will involve all working people in the struggle for the prosperity of the Bulgarian village.

The Bulgarian people's well-being, the consolidation of national unity, our self-confidence, and the awareness of being Bulgarian citizens; we have always regarded these requirements as our foremost and everlasting tasks. Under the new historical conditions, in the era of new thinking Bulgaria is sincerely opening up to the world. Our country is consistently working for the establishment of an atmosphere of mutual confidence, understanding, and cooperation in the Balkans.

Comrade Todor Zhivkov's statement made on 29 May on Bulgarian Television and Radio represented a political platform on which we should further build and strengthen the Bulgarian socialist state, and our Bulgarian people's unity, a platform on which we will further develop our good-neighborly relations, and enrich, as well as intensify, our peaceful foreign policy.

Aleksandur Stamboliyski set an example as a statesman of great prestige and authority on the international scene, an example which the BZNS is energetically following, successfully developing, and enriching with new ideas and initiatives today.

The BCP highly appreciates the fruitful relations between the BZNS and numerous agrarian, democratic, left-wing, and liberal parties, organizations, and movements all over the world. We most sincerely welcome the foreign delegations which are attending at the invitation of the BZNS, as dear guests of the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

"Aleksandur Stamboliyski's cause, which was pursued and elevated to new historical horizons by his loyal successors, headed by Georgi Traykov, the long-time loyal leader of the BZNS, and currently followed by Comrade Petur Tanchev, the present BZNS secretary, is alive and victorious in the nationwide upsurge of the People's Republic of Bulgaria. This is a profoundly democratic and progressive cause and for this reason it plays a well-deserved role, not only in Bulgarian history, but in the history of the worldwide, democratic, and anti-imperialist movement," Comrade Todor Zhivkov declared.

We Bulgarian Communists and united agrarians are supporting the new political thinking, we are contributing to the worldwide processes, we support new political thinking and the restructuring process that is expanding in the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. Our patriotism is inseparable from our international support and adherence to worldwide, revolutionary, and innovative processes, from our resolute struggle for disarmament and for the survival of mankind.

We will further promote and develop the friendship and cooperation between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the socialist countries as a great, historical achievement. It is every Bulgarian citizen's lofty and patriotic duty to further consolidate and enrich the traditional Bulgarian-Soviet friendship, which was tempered in days of struggle and of peaceful construction alike.

Standing on this hill, where the people's hero is buried, we are firmly resolved to devote our labor and our efforts to the upsurge of the Bulgarian, socialist nation, to the victory of restructuring, to the further construction of our fatherland as a highly developed and civilized socialist state!

Let us pay tribute to the life and deeds of Bulgaria's great son, Aleksandur Stamboliyski!

### Bulgarian Paper Evaluates Balkan Conference

*AU3005081389 Sofia VECHERNI NOVINI in Bulgarian 27 May 89 p 3*

[Bocho Bochev article: "Balkan Storeys Added to the European Home"]

[Text] The all-Balkan process, which has received a wide, positive response among the public, and not only in our geographical area, but also beyond it, opens up opportunities for even more dynamic efforts aimed at intensifying good neighborly relations in all their dimensions. The questions of mutual confidence and security play a role of primary importance in this context. We are talking about a complicated and sensitive sphere in which the partners' capacity for casting off the outdated cliches of the past and responding to the challenges of a rapidly changing world are subjected to the test. We are talking about the search for appropriate solutions to problems stemming from the very development of our contemporary, international life.

The meeting held in Bucharest on 22 and 23 May 1989, which was the first meeting of experts attended by representatives of all Balkan states, assumed precisely this task—namely to exchange views, evaluations, and ideas related to the possibilities of increasing the degree of confidence and stability in the Balkans. The value of the talks, which lasted 2 days, was, above all, to have marked a beginning and achieved greater clarity regarding the points of departure, and the path on which to embark.

The Bulgarian delegation went to the Romanian capital with the profound conviction that the problems of political dialogue, of confidence and security, including those in the military sphere, are of crucial importance for further improving the atmosphere in the Balkans, on the basis of well-balanced interests and in the context of the historically determined realities. The adding of a Balkan storey to the European home is our common concern and responsibility.

Naturally, hardly anyone deludes himself that all the difficulties that inevitably accompany the search for coordinated actions among sovereign states will be eliminated at a stroke. Truth requires us to admit that the positions of individual countries are still subject to the prevailing influence of bloc mentality, and influenced by the aspiration to apply criteria that have been overtaken by life. Naturally, such an attitude gives us cause for concern.

The experience accumulated in the development of all Balkan cooperation in the past, however, represents a valuable asset which justifies our confidence that the Balkans will acquire the image of a geographical area that is striving for the noble goals of lasting good neighborly relations.

## Daily Assesses Second Round of Talks With EEC

*AU0706201789 Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT in Bulgarian 5 Jun 89 p 4*

[Lyubomir Koralov article: "The Bulgarian Partners Are Up to Standards"]

[Excerpts] "An important step forward": This is the unanimous assessment by both the members of the Bulgarian delegation and the representatives of the EEC Commission (the supreme EEC organ) of the results of the second round of talks between Bulgaria and the EEC on concluding a trade agreement and an agreement on trade and economic cooperation. The 2-week talks took place at the beginning of last week and encompassed certain essential issues related to the demand of the Bulgarian side to work out a joint program on the liberalization of the import of goods to the markets of the "Club of the 12."

The existing qualitative trade restrictions, which discriminate against Bulgaria and hinder the normal development of equal and mutually beneficial business relations, was a basic issue at the first round of the talks, which took place in April, and at the second round as well. However, while at the first round of the talks on the restrictions there was a direct exchange of opinions, during the second round the sides did not directly discuss them, albeit the restrictions were present as a permanent element at the meetings. [passage omitted]

At the end of the second round of the talks Pablo Benavides, leader of the delegation of the EEC Commission and head of the Directorate on Northern and Central Europe and the East European Countries, briefly assessed the progress at the talks for the OTECHESTVEN FRONT readers: "We are still at the very beginning and it is very difficult to make any conclusions about the final outcome of the talks. However, it is essential to point out that the sides are participating most actively in the talks. The Bulgarians are equal partners who know well the EEC rules and legislature. The Bulgarian delegation proposed a series of drafts of the agreement's text, coordinated with the GATT norms. Since your country may soon become a member of this international organization, we think that those drafts must be carefully analyzed in the near future.

"This, of course, is just one side of the issue. The other side is that we nevertheless can speak about certain results. The first is that we have an agreement on the basic text, and this is a substantial matter. To prepare a text, amend it, add to it, and so forth, together with the partner, means that there is a certain common vision. The work on the text represents an important step forward and it means that we know what risks are involved. I think that the second result is in the area of trade and economic cooperation. In this part of the text there are clear ideas and provisions, and we do not anticipate great changes in it. Bulgaria was up to the standards because it confirmed that it is not interested only in trade, but also in equal cooperation, through bett relations with the EEC. The agreement devotes much attention to these issues but we are almost certain that there will not be any special difficulties in this area.

"Nevertheless, there are some difficulties in our common work. They are related primarily to removing the quantitative restrictions, applied by the Common Market. There are certain legal problems, as well as practical problems, especially in anything related to preparing the list of goods, whose import must be liberalized. We are striving to make the list as complete as possible. However, we need time to complete the study that we have planned for the next days and months. The fact that Bulgaria has a deficit in its trade with the EEC is one of the basic elements that will influence the preparation of the list. We shall especially consider this fact in removing the quantitative restrictions.

"In short, during the week we accomplished much in anything related to the text and to outlining the quantitative restrictions. Those are the two main directions along which we shall work, and which we shall analyze in the future."

The results of this analysis will obviously be presented for discussion at the next, the third round of the talks. According to preliminary information received from the EEC Commission, it will take place in Bulgaria at the beginning of July.

## Economic Cooperation Accord Signed With SFRY

*AU0806142489 Sofia BTA in English*
*1319 GMT 8 Jun 89*

["Bulgaria, Yugoslavia: Development of Economic Cooperation"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, June 8 (BTA)—The initiative for cooperation of the two countries' companies in car industry and electronics is a pace forward in the development of economic contacts between Bulgaria and Yugoslavia.

Today Mr Petko Danchev, the chairman of the Bulgarian Association of Biotechnologies and the Chemical Industry, chairman of the Bulgarian part of the Intergovernmental Committee on Economic and Techno-Scientific Cooperation and Mr Miroljub Micic, chairman of the Crvena Zastava Company discussed the basic forms for cooperation of the Yugoslav company with a consortium of Bulgarian partners, specialized in this sphere. The two countries will cooperate in the production and trade of cars.

Mr Ivan Tanev, chairman of the Bulgarian Electronika Association and Mr Borivoj Mitrovic and Mr Mirko Marinovic, heads of the companies Elektronska Industrija of Nis and Progres of Belgrade signed today a general agreement on long-term production, economic and techno-scientific cooperation. An expansion of joint activity and goods exchange is envisaged in the sphere of microelectronics, computer and communication technique as well as the production of household electric appliances. A protocol was signed which reflects the two countries' intentions for the realization of joint investments in the production of colour kinescopes and other T.V. parts.

## Municipal Sociopolitical Committees Established

*AU0906200889 Sofia BTA in English*
*1940 GMT 9 Jun 89*

["Uniting Social Forces"—BTA headline]

[Text] Stara Zagora, June 9 (BTA)—Today a municipal committee of political and social forces was established here. The leaders of more than 30 socio-political, mass, professional and other organizations attended the session.

The committee was established in response to the idea advanced at the December Plenum of the Central Committee of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] (1988), calling upon the Fatherland Front to form voluntarily, on a coalition basis, an association of all political and public organizations, movements, professional unions and amateur societies. It was set up with the purpose of coordinating and directing the activity of all democratic forces in the municipality for promoting the process of restructuring and finding an all-round solution to the problems of the development of this part of the country. A subject plan of the problems to be solved was made, priority being given to the unity of the Bulgarian nation, the conservation of environment and to social problems.

Today such a committee was established in Kazanluk, too.

## Sociopolitical Committee Established in Pomorie

*AU1406171989 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian*
*13 Jun 89 p 2*

[Text] Pomorie, 12 June (TRUD correspondent Khristo Iliev)—Representatives of 28 organizations, movements, societies, and cooperative organizations from the municipality gathered today in one of the halls of the Interhotel "Pomorie." They agreed by consensus to establish the first municipal committee of political and social forces in Burgas Oblast, attached to the Fatherland Front. The participants in the constituent meeting included Nikolay Zhishev, first secretary of Burgas Oblast BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] Committee; Dimitur Viyachev, secretary of the Fatherland Front National Council; and Kostadin Yanchev, chairman of the Executive Committee of Burgas Oblast People's Council.

The first task that the committee, in which all the members participate on an equal rights basis, set itself was to make efforts to further unite the nation and ensure the active participation of the municipality's population in fulfilling the municipal socioeconomic development plan and guaranteeing a normal rhythm in production.

The Committee elected Elena Murdzheva, chairman of the municipal Fatherland Front Committee, to hold office as its chairman for a period of 4 months.

## Todoriev Comments on Power Supply Situation

*AU0806140489 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO*
*in Bulgarian 7 Jun 89 p 6*

[Krasimir Tsigularov commentary: "The Country's Power Supply System Guarantees Normal Work"]

[Text] The country's power supply system guarantees normal work—this is how we can most briefly describe the main points of the news conference held yesterday by Nikola Todoriev, chairman of the "Energetika" Association, at the "Chaira" Pumping Storage Hydroelectric Plant [PAVETS] which was marked by numerous, rather optimistic statements.

Nikola Todoriev pointed out that for the first time in years our power supply system can rely on reserves. Making the Fifth power unit at the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Station operational has certainly contributed to this situation. Nevertheless, the exceptional efforts devoted to accelerating the implementation of the basic repair programs for all other existing power plants guaranteed, to a certain extent, the normal functioning of these plants for the next winter season, when there will be no new building projects to rely upon in this sector.

The general trends of energy consumption are also interesting: Consumption in private households is increasing, while industrial consumption has decreased. If we assume this to be a result of the improved organization in industrial enterprises and a result of introducing energy saving technologies, we may consider the situation as positive. The drastic increase of energy consumption in the communal sphere—namely in the trade and services sectors—is characteristic.

The share of our local machine building industry in the construction of new projects and in the modernization of old plants is increasing. It seems, however, that this is a source of concern, because our machine builders are too slow in "catching up" with the necessary accelerated measures and that the quality of their work is far from being satisfactory. This, as a matter of fact, is part of a broader issue, which closes the circuit—from electric power supply to consumption. On the one hand—there is the requirement of increasing the power supply efficiency of our enterprises and to create an effective mechanism for stimulating economic development. On the other hand, the same industrial enterprises should guarantee more effective technologies—and above all—they are supposed to provide ecologically pure technologies and power supply equipment. It is a fact that the main trends of research will be oriented toward this sphere within the forthcoming years. It is perfectly clear, on the other hand, that this search will be complicated by a shortage of financial resources and by insufficiency of a scientific and applicable potential.

It is true, that relevant programs have been adopted in this respect and special concepts are being developed. Nevertheless, the energy consumption factor of our national income is considerably higher than that of certain developed countries. This requires us to put all available resources into operation. For this reason, we can say that well-known problems are re-emerging against the background of optimism.

## Leaders' Public Appearances for 1-9 Jun

*AU0906174789*

[Editorial Report] Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian in its newscasts, the Sofia press, and Sofia BTA in English during the 2-9 June monitoring period report the following public appearances of Bulgarian leaders (sourceline of each report given in parentheses):

Georgi Atanasov, with Andrey Lukanov in attendance, received in Sofia on 5 June Niko Gjyzari, chairman of the State Planning Commission of Albania. (Sofia BTA in English 1358 GMT 5 Jun 89)

The following leaders took part in governmental talks in Prague on 6 June: Georgi Atanasov, Andrey Lukanov, and Stoyan Ovcharov. (Sofia BTA in English 2045 GMT 6 Jun 89)

The following leaders held governmental talks in Warsaw on 7 June: Georgi Atanasov and Andrey Lukanov. (Sofia BTA in English 2037 GMT 7 Jun 89)

Georgi Atanasov returned to Sofia on 8 June from a visit to Prague and Warsaw, being met at the airport by Grigor Stoichkov. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1900 GMT 8 Jun 89)

Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party (BCP) and chairman of the State Council, received in Sofia on 2 June Sheila Kaul, general secretary of the All-Indian Committee of the Indian National Congress-Indira Party. (Sofia BTA in English 1724 GMT 2 Jun 89)

Georgi Atanasov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Council of Ministers, received in Sofia on 2 June Mahmoud Vaezi, deputy minister of foreign affairs of Iran. (Sofia BTA in English 1746 GMT 2 Jun 89) In Sofia on 5 June he received Dari 'Abdallah al-'Uthman, minister of justice and legal and administrative affairs of Kuwait. (Sofia BTA in English 1757 GMT 5 Jun 89) On 6 June he departed from Sofia to Prague on a friendly working visit to the CSSR. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 6 Jun 89) In Prague on 6 June he held talks with Premier Adamec, (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 6 Jun 89) and had further meetings there on 7 June, leaving the same day for Poland, where he began talks with Council of Ministers Chairman Mieczyslaw Rakowski. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 7 Jun 89) In Warsaw on 8 June he had talks with Polish leaders. (Sofia BTA in English 0710 GMT 9 Jun 89)

Army General Dobri Dzhurov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and minister of national defense, met in Sofia on 2 June with a Lao military delegation led by Choumali Sayason, candidate member of the Politburo and secretary of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party and first deputy minister of national defense. (Sofia BTA in English 1915 GMT 2 Jun 89)

Grisha Filipov, Politburo member and secretary of the BCP Central Committee, received in Sofia a working group from the CPSU Central Committee led by Vladimir Besanets during their visit to Bulgaria from 29 May through 2 June. (Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 3 Jun 89 p 6) In Berlin on 6 and 7 June he took part in the regular meeting of secretaries for economic affairs of the central committees of parties from the CEMA member countries. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 7 Jun 89)

Petur Mladenov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and minister of foreign affairs, made a statement to BTA in Sofia on 8 June on positive developments in relations with Turkey. (Sofia BTA in English 1702 GMT 8 Jun 89) Petko Danchev, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Biotechnological and Chemical Industry Association, held cooperation talks in Sofia on 8 June with Miroljub Micic, chairman of the Yugoslav Crvena Zastava Company. (Sofia BTA in English 1319 GMT 8 Jun 89)

Petur Dyulgerov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Central Council of Bulgarian Trade Unions, opened a new trade union rest and recreation center near Ardino, Khaskovo Oblast, on 1 June. (Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 2 Jun 89 p 6)

Andrey Lukanov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and minister of foreign economic relations, signed a trade protocol in Sofia on 3 June with Niko Gjizari, chairman of the State Planning Commission of Albania. (Sofia BTA in English 1552 GMT 3 Jun 89) On 5 June Lukanov made a brief working visit to Bucharest for talks with First Deputy Prime Minister Cornel Pacoste. (Sofia BTA in English 1738 GMT 5 Jun 89)

Stoyan Ovcharov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and minister of planning and economy, had a meeting in Prague on 5 June with Bohumil Urban, deputy prime minister of the CSSR. (Sofia BTA in English 2117 GMT 5 Jun 89) Grigor Stoichkov, candidate member of BCP Central Committee Politburo and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, attended a festive meeting in Elin Pelin, Sofia Oblast, on 2 June to mark Botev Day. (Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 3 Jun 89 p 2)

Georgi Yordanov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and minister of culture, science, and education, attended a National Day reception given by Italian Ambassador Paolo Taroni in Sofia on 2 June. (Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 3 Jun 89 p 6) In Vidin on 4 June he attended a commemoration meeting for those who died in Bulgaria's liberation struggle. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1930 GMT 4 Jun 89) In Sofia on 6 June he attended a National Day reception at the Swedish Embassy. (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1900 GMT 6 Jun 89)

Emil Khristov, secretary of the BCP Central Committee, received in Sofia a group of Yugoslav scholars led by Dr Yuriy Bajec, who ended their visit to Bulgaria on 2 June. (Sofia BTA in English 2033 GMT 2 Jun 89)

## 13th CPCZ Central Committee Session Activities

### Personnel Changes Proposed

*LD1406173289 Prague CTK in English 1610 GMT 14 Jun 89*

[Text] Prague June 14 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Communist Party General Secretary Milos Jakes today submitted to the current party Central Committee session proposals of the party presidium concerning some cadre issues.

Deputy premier of the federal government, premier of the Slovak government, Presidium member of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee Ivan Knotek has been proposed for the function of secretary in charge of the economic sphere. Until now, this sector has been together with the sector of international policy in the charge of party Presidium member Jozef Lenart. Ivan Knotek has been also proposed for chairman of the party Central Committee National Economic Commission to replace Jozef Lenart who will continue to head the party Central Committee Commission for Foreign Policy.

First Deputy Premier of the federal government Pavel Hrivnak has been proposed to replace Ivan Knotek in his government functions. It has been also proposed that he be elected alternate member of the party Presidium.

Head of the Communist Party Central Committee Department of Agriculture, Food Industry, Forest and Water Conservancy and Wood Working Industry Miroslav Zajic has been proposed for the function of chairman of the party Central Committee Commission for Agriculture and Food. At the same time he should become secretary and and member of the Secretariat of the party Central Committee.

Party Presidium alternate member and Secretary of the Slovak Communist Party Central Committee Miroslav Hruskovic asked to be relieved of the function with regard to his retirement. The party Presidium proposed that he be replaced by Pavol Bolvansky, member of the Slovak Communist Party Central Committee and chairman of the regional national committee in central Slovakia.

### Jakes Delivers Report

*LD1406175189 Prague CTK in English 1559 GMT 14 Jun 89*

[Text] Prague June 14 (CTK)—"An overwhelming majority of our citizens link their hopes with the socialist road of development, the policy of restructuring and democratization."

This was stressed in a report on the activity of the Czechoslovak Communist Party after the 13th session of its Central Committee and its further tasks, which was delivered by party General Secretary Milos Jakes to the 14th party Central Committee session here today.

Milos Jakes emphasized inter alia: "We clearly hold the stand that every country has the right to proceed from its own conditions when outlining its policies. It is necessary to use positive experiences of other fraternal parties but also to draw a lesson from problems and negative phenomena accompanying restructuring. The most important thing is for the party to stand in the lead of the changes and not to lose control over the development of events."

Milos Jakes pointed out that "some problems of the present time are reflected even inside the Communist Party, among Communists, in their views and actions. Some party members show uncertainty caused by the necessity to change views on and approaches to a number of questions of the further development of socialism and application of the leading role of the party. Certain role is also played by anxiety about the development in Poland and Hungary where serious changes are taking place in the position of the party in society, and opposition forces are being legalized and launching an offensive along with the application of political pluralism. This naturally arouses concern. We support the effort of the Polish United Workers' Party and the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party to overcome problems and obstacles, to restore and strengthen socialism in their countries. There are also attempts of those who have never supported the socialist system to abuse the effort to overcome outdated methods of management of society and seek new roads of development for throwing doubts on the values of socialism and its further prespectives," Milos Jakes said.

In this connection he stressed: "We pursue restructuring with the aim not to weaken but to strengthen and further develop socialism, all of this on the platform of the National Front, the political system that was created in our country in the process of national, democratic and socialist revolution."

Speaking of the development of cooperation with fraternal communist and workers' parties of the countries of the socialist community, Milos Jakes pointed out the great significance of his April working visit to the Soviet Union where he held talks characterized by full identity of views on the questions discussed. "Our talks centred particularly on the further development of economic cooperation, deepening cooperation in production by way of establishing direct contacts between enterprises and setting up of joint ventures and organizations including the use of the capacities of the defence industry," Milos Jakes said.

He further stressed: "The process of revolutionary changes taking place in Soviet society undoubtedly remains to be stimulating for us. This is why we watched with extraordinary interest the course of results of the recent Congress of People's Deputies of the Soviet Union in Moscow. We understand it as an event whose significance that far exceeded the Soviet Union's borders. We express full support to the message of the congress to the peoples of the world with the appeal for the preservation of peace, prosperity and progress of mankind," the party general secretary said.

Milos Jakes further stated that "the development of friendly relations and cooperation between socialist states is of major importance for strengthening socialism both in individual countries and on the world scale. From this point of view, we welcome the results of the Soviet-Chinese summit meeting last May, the first one after three decades".

He described the resumption of contacts betwen the Soviet and Chinese communist parties as a very significant result of the summit meeting. "This fact is important not only for the two fraternal parties but also for the whole international communist and workers' movement and for the world of socialism. Good neighbourly relations between the Soviet Union and China will undoubtedly have positive impact on the whole Asian-Pacific region and on further improvement of the political atmosphere in the world", Milos Jakes underlined.

He said that the recent events in Beijing and other Chinese cities have aroused high interest in the Czechoslovak Communist Party and among the public, and expressed the belief that the Communist Party and the people of China will manage to overcome the problems which arose in the country.

"We wish them success in solving complex problems of strengthening and further development of socialism in this large friendly country", Milos Jakes stated.

Milos Jakes further stressed that questions of European security and cooperation are prior for Czechoslovak foreign political efforts. The conclusions of the Vienna follow-up meeting have become an important impulse for the further development of the all-European process. "In accordance with our legal code" we approach their implementation with full responsibility. In this spirit, we have joined the preparations for and deliberations of the recent London information forum as well as the Paris conference on human dimension taking place at present".

"Proceeding from our own historical experience, geographical position of Czechoslovakia and the belief that only through political and military detente can we strengthen peace, develop mutually advantageous cooperation and solve global problems, we focus especially on military and political aspects of European security", Milos Jakes said.

"Our initiatives to create a zone of confidence on the line of contact between the Warsaw Treaty and NATO states, and the joint proposals of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and the Social Democratic Party of Germany for setting up a corridor free of nuclear and chemical weapons are aimed at reaching this goal", he added.

"We take an active part in the talks on conventional armed forces in Europe between the Warsaw Treaty and NATO, and the talks of 35 countries participating in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe on the security and confidence-building measures. We demonstrate this by our unilateral disarmament measures and the Warsaw Treaty proposal for opening a dialogue on the reduction of tactical nuclear arms in Europe. Stands of some political circles in the West remain a great problem as well as their effort to modernize tactical nuclear arms and their unwillingness to liquidate short-range missiles", he underlined.

In another part of the report Milos Jakes dealt with some problems of religious life in Czechoslovakia. He stated that "the Vatican's hard stand persists and the discrimination of clergymen associated in the Pacem in Terris Association continues. Certain forces seem to speculate about the possibility that in consequence of the current development in the socialist countries, the Vatican could succeed in turning the church into an influential political factor destabilizing the socialist social system. This must not be overlooked and the more so is it important to consistently continue such policy towards believers and the churches that is in harmony with the Czechoslovak Constitution. Believers are equal citizens in our country and no obstacles are laid to the satisfaction of their religious needs. A great part of clergymen appreciate this and take a positive or loyal attitude to the socialist society and the state. What we will not tolerate is the activity of illegal church structures. They do not seek religion but its abuse for political aims which runs counter the interests of the believers themselves," Milos Jakes stressed.

The party general secretary further pointed out that "in the past period an important step has been made on the road towards development of ecological cooperation among states of central Europe on the basis of an initiative of the Czechoslovak Government. Also important in this context was a meeting of government members in charge of the environment from Czechoslovakia and other neighbouring states."

Czechoslovakia also actively joins preparations of an ecological forum due in Sofia next October, Milos Jakes said and added that ecological problems are to be dealt with at the next Communist Party Central Committee session.

### Jakes Addresses Session 14 Jun

*LD1406192989 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1700 GMT 14 Jun 89*

["Substantial excerpt" of speech by Milos Jakes, general secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Central Committee, at CPCZ Central Committee session in Prague on 14 June—recorded]

[Text] Two and a half months have passed since the 13th session of the party's Central Committee. Although this is a short period, important events have taken place both in the domestic and international spheres. The climate in our society was significantly influenced by the May Day celebrations. They showed that the days of May and traditions linked with them represent enduring values in the minds of our people. They were new evidence of the support of the majority of our citizens for the course towards restructuring and democratization, the internal and foreign policy of the Communist Party, the National Front, and the socialist state. They were a demonstration of friendship and alliance with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, and solidarity with revolutionary and peace-loving forces in the world. People voiced their desire to live and work in a positive and creative climate and in a collectivhe effort to help in the further development of socialism in our country.

This position taken by the majority of our citizens has been confirmed by the continuing response to the Declaration issued on the 41st anniversary of Victorious February. In statements the party's Central Committee has received and which are still coming in, practically all social groups of our society—workers, farmers, members of the intelligentsia, Communists, non-party people, members of social organizations and political parties associated in the National Front—voice their agreement and support for this Declaration. It is especially valuable that these statements are frequently accompanied by concrete pledges that work collectives or organizations want to contribute to the further development of our society, to the overcoming of shortcomings which we are experiencing. They unequivocally express the demand not to allow the violation of public order, or of the people's peaceful work, and, in keeping with the law, to act more firmly against all antisocial phenomena which could jeopardize our socialist future.

We see the Declaration as an important document for guiding our work until the 18th party congress. In this connection it must be critically pointed out that not all primary organizations and party bodies pay sufficient attention to the Declaration, or sufficiently value its political significance and the corresponding necessity of organizational and mass-political work. Its content must be implemented more thoroughly through the practical activity of the party, the National Front, and of state and economic bodies. The overwhelming majority of our peoples link their hopes with the socialist path of development, the policy of restructuring and democratization. This was confirmed by the conferences of the Socialist Youth Union, of the Women's Union Congress, of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party, the Czechoslovak People's Party, and the deliberations of the other organizations and bodies of the National Front. This trust of the people must be continuously reinforced by constructive deeds which bring palpable results, particularly in tackling the daily needs and cares of citizens.

We do not forget in this assessment of the situation in our society that a number of political, economic, and ideological factors continue to exist which will influence the specific views and attitudes of the people. Justified criticism about the sluggish handling of a number of problems is growing, but requests are also expressed for which there are no available solutions yet. Foreign political factors, strengthening inimical propaganda, continue to have their influence. Processes taking place in other socialist countries are also not without effect.

We unequivocally believe that every country has the right to base its policy on its own conditions. However, it is necessary to make use of the positive experience of other fraternal countries, and also to learn from problems and negative phenomena which accompany restructuring. The most important thing is that the party was in the lead in promoting the changes, and that it did not lose control over events.

The attention of the Presidium and the Secretariat of the Central Committee, as follows from the tabled written report, was concerned after the 13th session with securing its conclusions.

According to the reactions being sent to the Central Committee, it can be said that the results of the plenum are awaited with great interest and they meet with a positive reaction, in particular because of the clear standpoints that were taken concerning the national economic situation, on current questions of restructuring, and on the perfecting of socialist democracy. Communists and other citizens have favorably received the principled position of the Central Committee toward attempts by internal and external enemies, who are trying to misuse the processes of restructuring and democratization for anti social purposes. The public at large, parents, pedagogues, and students, reacted with lively interest to the Central Committee's concern with the problem of education, its role under the restructuring conditions, and the restructuring of education itself. In addiction to positive evaluations of the preparation and course of the Central Committee session, criticism was also expressed. In many places it was expected that more concrete and factual decisions would be made concerning the solving of individual problems in education including financial questions, the material and technical base, and so on. This shows that all do not correctly understand the position of the party and the role of its organs.

The party must realize political leadership; it cannot replace the activity of government organs. The relevant government organs are responsible for working out, adopting, and realizing concrete measures to improve the quality of the educational system. The clear and binding aims of the activity of the communists who work within the system were set out in the documents adopted by the party Central Committee. It is necessary to reemphasize the great importance of upbringing and education as one of the decisive factors of the overall level and successful development of society, the self-realization of the citizens and the growth of their political activity. This is why the fulfilment of the conclusions of the 13th Central Committee session must continue to be at the center of attention of party organs and organizations, communists working in government economic organs, in national committees, and in the entire National Front.

The countrywide conference of teachers will take place at the begining of the new school year. We consider it to be a very significant political event. It should be an opportunity for a working, democratic, exchange of views and experiences of the most qualified people who work in this area, and for the adoption of concrete conclusions for further progress in restructuring our education system.

Comrades, the basic tasks and requirements of restructuring and democratization were clearly set out. They are the conclusions of the seventh Central Committee session, the document for the comprehensive restructuring of the economic mechanism, and the resolution on increasing the role of the National Front in the creation, realization, and control of policy, on widening the jurisdiction and accountability of national committees, on cadre work, on public information and policy openness. It is the resolution of the 9th Central Committee session on the party's work and the 10th session on ideological work. It is the standpoint on our postwar development expressed on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of victorious February, our attitude to all-around cooperation with the CEMA member-countries and our participation in the struggle for peace and progress in the world. We do not need to wait for instructions from higher bodies to proceed more enterprisingly, with a greater commitment and in organized manner, in accordance with local conditions, in the interest of the implementation of the set political line.

After the 13th Central Committee session the restructuring of manufacturing, technological, scientific, research, and current assets [obehova] base entered its final stage. From the outset of the implementation of this important task, 1,546 state enterprises were set up by 1 April and more than 700 new government enterprises are being prepared to be set up by 1 July. You have received the list, although not all questions have as yet been finally resolved. Although the experience acquired has been taken into account in this stage, we have not been successfull in totally overcoming trends by some producers to maintain a monopoly position and to assert narrow group and local interests. Nor have we succeeded in increasing more radically the founding [zakladatelska] activities of municipal and local national committees. These facts will have to be taken into account in the future and possible adjustments carried out, depending on what life and practice show. However, now the issue is to ensure that the newly emerging organizational structures are stabilized and that prerequisites are created to enable them to begin their activity comprehensively and in an organized manner in the new economic conditions, as has been decided, as of January 1990.

From this point of view we are faced with the important task to ensure, in the follow up on the course of the organizational restructuring, the establishment of party committees so that they will start to operate simultaneously as the state enterprises come into existence. So far, 540 of them are working and with the rebuilding of organizational structures coming to an end one can envision that their number will increase by roughly one-third. It is natural that many of them are seeking their place. We remind them that their principal mission is to coordinate and unify the procedure of all party organizations in the enterprise, to assert party influence on economic management, self-management bodies, trade unions, and other organizations while observing the principle of management of the party's primary organizations by district party bodies or those party bodies empowered to do so.

We do not want to create out of them another link in the chain of management within the system of party bodies. The important thing is for party committees to apply an effective work style as organs of political management, for them to share actively in the preparation and application of the economic mechanism, in carrying out factual changes connected with restructuring within the enterprise, in the development of the activity of the councils of working collectives. Their important task is to prepare the people for work in new conditions and to secure restructuring ideologically. Good political, cadre, and organizational provisions for the elections of directors and councils of working collectives must continue to be at the center of their attention.

Experience has shown that nothing must be left to chance in this respect. It is necessary in doing so to lean on all experiences about which we talked in detail at the past session of the party's Central Committee, including the possibility of the direct election of directors and self-management organs by all employees of the enterprise. Where the elections take place through the medium of delegates they should take place outside the working period—that is, (?usually) on a Saturday. It is definitely necessary to increase the participation and share of ministries in the elections of directors and councils of working collectives. It is necessary to take greater care and ensure that the selection of candidates for the election of a director is carried out on the basis of competition. As far as elections at the lower levels of management are concerned, we do not envision them at present.

For the further course of action it is necessary to transfer the center of gravity of our efforts to full understanding and application of the content of economic reform and to push through its basic purpose and objective. Organizational changes, elections, and the establishment of relevant bodies in enterprises are merely creating the prerequisites for this.

The most important thing is, and will be, consistent implementation of the law on the state enterprise, the development of socialist enterprise, achieving high efficiency, quality, economy, and technical level of production, and rational economic behavior and actions. This is so far not receiving enough attention. To change this state of affairs and to responsibly prepare for management on the basis of economic accountability [khozraschet] and self-financing it is necessary to work out in every enterprise and factory a progarm and order for the new implementation of the new economic mechanism. In this it is vital to clarify questions connected with perfecting enterprise mangement, introducing internal enterprise economic accountability, the orientation of technical development, a program of innovation, the introduction of production and finding a place for produce in the market, and also questions concerning the social program, the preparation and education of the people. All of this should be contained in this program.

This is the first duty of the management of an enterprise. The councils of work collectives have a great role to play in this. The important thing is that the action of the enterprise in this direction is aimed at reponsibly securing the needs of society. It is still being shown that many questions connected with the principles of restructuring, with the implementation of economic tools, management, and economic accountability, enterprise, and so on are unclear to the workers. It is necessary to discuss these questions more intensively and in particular to make them clear to workers and technicians in individual enterprises. It is necessary to take a critical standpoint on how the founders of enterprises fulfill their role toward them. Do they all express only the minimum interest in the situation in enterprises and in solving both urgent questions and conceptual ones in the enterprise sphere? We were already pointing out this fact at the last session. Responsibility for achieving a change in the activity of the sectors is primarily that of ministers and other top ministry officials. Central organs must show greater responsibility and consistency in creating the relevant prerequisites for the work of state enterprises.

This demand concerns economic restructuring as well as a quick resolution of open issues in the state plans for this year. The enterprise sphere cannot expect that everything will be settled by the center again. Also, the fact that some issues have still not been settled does not justify shoddy work, wastefulness, delay in the introduction of economic accountability, delay in introducing order to the reward process, and delay in the creation of conditions for thoroughly implementing the Law on State Enterprise.

We must emphasize, in connection with the economic reform, that by increasing self-standing and accountability of enterprises we are not giving up the principle of management through planning. This is, however, a new type of planning, which is anchored in the principle of restructuring the economic mechanism. The law on economic planning that is being prepared and which will be discussed by the Federal Assembly in the next few days must be in harmony with this. We must act more firmly against the promotion of group interests and against improving economic results by various price manipulations, by unjustified surcharges, by so-called innovations, by limiting the production and assortment of supplies of cheaper goods to the market, and so on. This is not a socialist enterpreneurial spirit but the abuse of the monopoly position; it is securing a comfortable life at the expense of society and consumers and this is in sharp contradiction to the aims of restructuring.

We also do not believe that the way out of existing problems in the national economy—achieving positive dynamism in its development—is through a redefinition of socialist ownership. Instead, we must develop forms which evolved during the period of socialist construction in our country. We also support individual economic activity, but there must be a permit from a national committee or other organization and the activity must, above all, improve services to the public. The option of establishing small cooperatives to which national committees have given a green light will create new opportunities. This activity also should be directed to the area of direct services to the public and also to the housing area.

These new forms of providing services to the public do not mean that the exploitation of work by other people or unjustified enrichment of individuals will be made possible.

The Central Committee Presidium is paying particular attention to the topical task of legally securing the restructuring of the economic mechanism and the creation of legislative conditions for its apllication as of 1 January 1990. The government and the Federal Assembly must carry out demanding and very responsible work in this direction. Their committees are now discussing draft laws on economic planning, the budget system and budget principles, the Czechoslovak State Bank, banking and saving institutions, foreign currency, the Czechoslovak State Railway and an amendment to the law on a unified system of socio-economic information. Work is continuing on the preparation of a series of further bills. The Czech National Council, as well as the Slovak National Council, are exercising their right to initiative legislation for the Federal Assembly, and are discussing the principles of the Law on the Protection of the Atmosphere as a guide constituting an important and essential element of the living environment.

The governments are working out preparation of important orders which concern, for example, problems of relations between the consumer and the supplier—working out the state plan, financial economies of state enterprises, and other questions. In this connection I should like to recall that the work on legislative safeguards for the restructuring of the economic mechanism and other sphers does not end in adopting and promulgating laws—an important requirement is that citizens should be acquainted with them, to purposefully follow their influence and activity in practice, so that it might be possible in time to correct what has been demonstrated as imperfect.

Following the 13th session of the party's Central Committee, there has been significant progress in the preparation of the draft political legal principles of the new Constitution of the Czechoslovak SR. The party's Central Committee Presidium discussed draft principles concerning social system, checks on the constitutional nature, courts and prosecution, economic arbitration and legal profession, basic rights and duties of citizens, the highest constitutional organs of the Federation of the Czech SR and the Slovak SR and the national committees. These proposals are also being discussed in the National Front Central Committee Presidium.

There is an assumption that the first stage of the work will be completed in June of this year. We are considering the fact that in the fall the constitutional commission of the Party Central Committee and the national Front will meet to discuss the first set of draft principles of the new constitution of the Czechoslovak SR. In connection with the Constitution, work is continuing on election laws. It is assumed that a number of other legislative norms will be issued, such as, for example, the law on voluntary associations, the law on religious societies and churches, the law on administrative legislation, on the press and communication media, on international agreements on youth, on the capital of Prague, on incentives, complaints and announcements of citizens, and on prosecution matters. In the past period, a number of important negotiations of organizations united in the National Front took place.

Altogether, one must appreciate the active relations and support which the organizations united in the National Front expressed and continue to express on the statement on the occasion of the 41st anniversary of Victorious February. It is exceptionally significant that the National Front, which represents a great revolutionary advantage of our people, might develop fully as an actual social political movement. It requires us to consistently return to the conclusions which were adopted in connection with the activation of the National Front and the organizations united in it, in February 1988, and, above all, to implement them consistently.

An important direction for developing the process of restructuring and democratization is the implementation of an open policy and deepening public information. The mass media has an exceptional role in this. One must praise the work which the employees of the party press, television, radio, and other journals are doing in this direction. The requirements on their work are also growing. Their responsibility for the expressed viewpoints on the past and the present is increasing. We must be aware of the fact that a broad range of views is arising according to how continually broader levels of the population become involved in implementing the transformations in the political, economic, and social sphere.

From this point of view it is increasingly important that the media not only reflect [words indistinct] and express public opinion, but also influence this opinion, help to form it, to find correct answers to current complicated questions so that they might activate the citizens to participate in public life in fulfilling the tasks of social and economic development. It is necessary to appreciate the work being done in this direction by workers of the party press, television, radio, other newspapers, and magazines. The demands on their work are also growing. However, their responsibility for the positions expressed concerning our past and present is increasing. They must be aware that as continually greater numbers of people become involved in the realization of changes in the political, economic, and social spheres, a wide range of views, approaches, demands, and expectations comes into being, about the process of restructuring and democratization.

From this viewpoint it becomes more important for the media to not only mirror present history and to express public opinion but also to influence this opinion, to help to form it, to find the correct answers to complicated questions of the day so that they will activate the citizens into participation in public life in fulfilling the tasks of socioeconomic development. It is very important that they should strengthen the conviction in people that we will be equal to the tasks and we will solve the problems if creativity, initiative, social involvement, and the sense of duty increase everywhere. In this direction they should continually bring more positive examples.

The media workers cannot remain isolated in fulfilling their tasks. It is necessary to emphasize again the vital need for close cooperation between officials and workers of the party apparatus with the editors of the party press in particular, but also with outer media. It is vital to be in close contact with them, to inform them about current questions of party policy, to arm them with the necessary facts and arguments. It is equally necessary for management workers, whether in party or state economic and social organs, and organizations themselves, to take care that the public is informed at the right time and for them to regularly speak in the media on current political questions, on the problems for which they are responsible. We can still say that what we are witnessing is not enough.

We must continue to take into account that it is not likely that the program of restructuring and democratization will be realized under ideal and calm conditions. We are also faced with great pressure and direct attacks from outside. Attempts to misuse the closing document of the Vienna follow-up meeting against us are appearing, as was shown by the Information Forum in London and the conference on the human dimension which is under way in Paris. Bourgeois propaganda is making considerable effort to contribute to spreading skepticism and doubt about the future of the construction of socialism and socialism as a social system. We can counter this by not allowing ourselves to be diverted from the course we have set out upon, by going on to the political and ideological offensive. We will also develop dialogue with the people and we will increase the effectiveness of mass political work. We will be consistent in realizing the intentions set out, and decisive in solving ripe problems on which the enemy forces often parasiticize, and give timely answers to current questions. Naturally, anywhere where violation of public order, the law of our state, and antisocial acts take place it is necessary to take decisive steps. We must be able to defend our socialist social system.

A few words about church policy issues. Talks were held in April between a Czechoslovak Government delegation and a delegation from the Vatican. Certain signs of a more flexible attitude on the side of the Vatican representatives was observed. Both sides succeeded in reaching an agreement on the filling of the vacant bishoprics in Litomerice and Olomouc and the post of the Archbishop in Trnava. The Vatican delegation additionally submitted proposals to fill the vacant posts in the dioceses in Nitra and Spis, which the relevent Czechoslovak authorities are examining.

Overall, however, it is necessary to say that the Vatican persists in its hardline attitude. The discrimination of clergymen associated with Pacem in Terris continues. One has to see this and thereby continue more resolutely in carrying out our policy toward believers and churches in the spirit of our Constitution. Believers are proper citizens of our country and enjoy equal rights. Obstacles are not placed to meeting their religious needs. A large part of the clergy appreciate this and take a positive or loyal attitude to socialist society and the government.

What we will not, however, tolerate is the activity of illegal church structures. Their concern is not religion but rather the misuse of it for political aims, which runs counter to the interests of the believers themselves.

Comrades, we have stressed on more than one occasion what importance the fulfillment of the tasks set in the government plan, the support given to it by the working people, has for the success of restructuring and the expediting of social and economic development. In the next few days the Federal Assembly will debate a report to be submitted by the federal prime minister on the state of our economy and our intentions. At the same time a report will be submitted on the summary of the CSSR Government's final accounts for 1988. This report assesses the attained level of management and signals certain unfavorable development trends, which will have to be resolutely countered. The fact that the management of the federal budget during the past year did not end in a deficit but in a surplus of income over expenditure, which made it possible to subsidize the budgets of our two republics and to ensure the balance of all three state budgets—that is both the federal and both republican ones—is undoubtedly in view of present internal and international conditions, a stabilizing factor.

It is, however, necessary to recognize that the financial and budgetary balance was achieved by the adoption of a number of special measures of a restrictive character in the field of expenditure, that is their reduction. We had to draw more from the reserves set aside in the plan and state budget. To finance some development intentions and additional factual measures in the national economy, including the special import of feed as a result of the disproportionate growth in meat consumption it was necessary to make use of foreign credits in convertible currencies.

I think that it is not necessary to stress how dangerous it would be if we continued in this line without substantially increasing the effectiveness of our economy and creating realistic prerequisites for its balanced development, above all on the basis of our own dynamic and intensive creation of the necessary resources and their rational utilization. As in each family budget the following basic rules also apply for financing the national economy: to live above one's means, to spend more resources than those we created ourselves by our own work, to borrow with the hope that the situation would improve sometime, all serve to create even bigger problems for our future.

We must consistantly proceed from this reality in managing our economy in the current year and in preparing our development intentions for the period of the ninth 5-year plan; to try above all to tackle the problems we are encountering in carrying out structural changes, in the process of intensification, in capital investment, in the field of costs and the provision in the home market with the utilization, above all, of individual potential and reserves, the skill and abilities of our working people, who must be given a broad scope for their initiative.

Although we expect a great deal from the new economic mechanism, we must not wait for 1 January 1990. In any case, even after that date things will not move by themselves, automatically, without putting in systematic, great efforts and creative work.

The first half of the current year is coming to a close. The chief trends in the fulfillment of social and economic tasks are yet to be analyzed in detail. On the basis of preliminary results for the first 5 months, one can say that in comparison with past years certain positive indications have been manifested, in particular in the development of costs and consumption in manufacturing processes and the creation of profits by enterprises. This is having a favorable reflection in national income, which is now growing faster than envisaged by the annual operational plan but which, however, is far from attaining the intentions established in the eigth 5-year plan. It is not as yet possible to judge whether this is a more enduring shift in the fulfillment of qualitative plan indicators.

A number of long-term shortcomings persist in economic development. We have not succeeded in achieving progress in tackling basic problems, which will influence stable and balanced economic development. These issues were already spelled out in the government's policy statement, to which the Central Committee has given its full support. The attention of the broad public is continuously focused on its implementation. Naturally, one cannot expect an immediate solution of all the shortcomings that have accompanied our development for a long time.

We must also not weaken our concentration on the conclusions adopted and we must aim to create the conditions necessary to implement them. Governments must make full use of their constitutional rights and competences not only to adopt resolutions but above all to control and organize their implementation more thoroughly and to arrive at reasons for the failure to fulfill the tasks.

The important thing is to make it possible to actually implement the adopted conclusions so that things (?do not stop at words alone). Governments must be equally exacting toward enterprises and toward central bodies. Therefore they must make an exacting assessment of the way the government's policy statement is fulfilled by individual departments and ministers so that the relevant conclusions are reached.

I would like to speak in particular about the situation in the home market which has a very significant influence on people's level of satisfaction and attitudes. The party Central Committee Presidium and the government are giving it their utmost attention. The measures adopted in this area have produced only partial results so far. Our experience to date has shown that a thorough solution is only possible if we create the necessary systems and conditions in the national economy and if we prevent money being paid out when it has no proper backing. This must be kept in mind particularly when the ninth five year plan is prepared.

However, it is already necessary to mobilize immediately all possibilities and reserves to reinforce balance on the home market. To increase the production of the required consumer goods in appropriate type and quality by making use of special—that is military, resources. We have to support every activity by enterprises, cooperatives, and individuals. Provincial party bodies, and in particular national committees, can play a substantial role here.

The even implementation of planned tasks in prescribed volume, quality, and assortment in every economic organization continues to be our most important course. We must develop widely and utilize working initiative and socialist competition which play an important part in the new conditions where the economic mechanism is being restructured and it would be a serious mistake to undervalue them as is the case in many places. Economic restructuring does not supress initiative, on the contrary it presupposes it and opens wide space for it. It would be naive to expect this working initiative to develop spontaneously. The revolutionary trade union movement is to play an important part here.

A very important demand is to enhance the role and the influence of the working class in the process of political, economic, and social changes which are taking place in our country. Restructuring is in the interest of workers, of all working people. It makes possible the creation of the necessary resources to advance the national economy, improve living standards, and reinforce social security. The active approach of working collectives to restructuring means making better use of working time, the entrusted means of production, good quality work, husbandry, the promotion of reward according to the results of work. It demands initiative and an active approach to the implementation of tasks and the continous upgrading of qualification.

The workers in preproduction stages, management and technical intelligentsia are a decisive factor in the growth of efficiency and evenness of production, as well as in improving its technical standard.

The results achieved so far do not always correspond to their number. As a result of incompetence and the low accountability of some technical workers, prerequisites for smooth and effective work by workers are often not created. This must be changed with the active support of party and trade union organizations and with good organization and a good pace in work; production must be secured. We must have a more decisive response to our worries, worries which we cannot have in socioeconomic development, when we compare ourselves to the rest of the world. We must make progress in the struggle with the remaining shortcomings, whose consequences strengthen inflation and deepen disproportions in the national economy. A decisive prerequisite, and we must be constantly aware of this, is the effective creation of resources. It is necessary to start at every workplace, at every level of management, beginning with the workshop and ending with the highest organs.

We must concentrate our attention above all on the things which are emerging as most pressing: first, it is necessary to evenly accomplish plan tasks in the necessary quality and variety. At the same time, we must emphasize disciplined fulfillment of economic contracts, the reduction of expenses, and the rational use of supplies. Second, to responsibly secure the implementation of new economic tools as of 1 January next year, to perfect internal enterprise management and the organization of labor. Third, to quickly introduce order in investment construction, particularly where production investment is concerned, and to continue investments only where their high efficiency, speedy returns, and harmony with structural changes are unequivocally proved. It is necessary to responsibly secure the building of apartments, ecological balanced construction, vital investment in the infrastructure, and continued support for the "Akce Z" [citizens self-help program], which are part of the election programs of the National Front.

Fourth, not to allow an increase in debt in freely convertible currency. Acceptance of credit must be consistently linked to creating actual conditions for increased efficiency in Czechoslovak exports to developed capitalist countries. To realistically evaluate our opportunities for giving loans and to have maximum respect for the requirement that a return of the means loaned must be secured. In relations with socialist countries, we must ensure that our surplus does not continue to grow.

Fifth, to be more demanding in upholding principles in price policy and to prevent the unjustified growth of prices, which is not in harmony with the tempo of increasing quality and the useful value of production. To form strict conclusions from the violation of price discipline both against enterprises and individuals.

Sixth, to give exceptional attention to wage development, to emphasize the implementation of the basic principle of socialist wage policy, the harmony of wages with the values created, a corresponding relation between the growth of average wages and the growth of labor productivity.

Seventh, in all sectors in the center and in regions and districts, to organize deliveries for the domestic market, to strengthen the balance between supply and demand, to remove shortages of products, to mobilize all resources for the production of consumer goods, including the development of production cooperatives and individual activity of the citizens. Every decision which is made in this direction must be based on the serious analysis of real conditions and the comprehensive consideration of its consequences in practice. We must take into account available financial, raw material, and material resources, labor force, and the possibilities of more effective use of the present production fund.

A current task is to prepare and responsibly secure the plan for 1990. The introduction of the restructuring of the economic mechanism demands a transition to working it out in a new way, to set it out in harmony with the conditions in which it will be realized. For this, it is necessary for all the goals of the plan to be based on the highest possible implementation of economic accountability and independence of the enterprise sphere so that state enterprises take a much greater part than up to now in working it out. It will be their plan. For central organs, the important thing is to correctly set the economic tools as the basic guide for setting up economic plans. Specific tasks and limits should be made use of only where they are vital.

I speak about this because in the management sphere often mistrust of economic tools and an unwillingness to let go of the administrative command methods of planning manifest themselves. More time is needed to ensure quality in its new form. The government expects it to be approved in November this year. Preparations continue for the 1990 plan and the long-term outlook and guidelines for the ninth 5-Year Plan.

Proposals are being discussed—as you are aware, since you are taking part in this process—in the individual commissions of the party's Central Committee. At issue are important documents requiring deeper analysis and the clarification of the development intentions, not only from the viewpoint of internal but also external links. An important requirement in this regard is the speeding up of the structural rebuilding of the national economy. We are striving to ensure that structural changes are directed toward deepening the socialist orientation of our economy, toward production satisfying people's needs, toward the creation of prerequisites for modernizing the manufacturing and technological base, including a fuller utilization of the possibilities offered by the international division of labor.

With regard to the external economic relations, our basic orientation remains cooperation with the Soviet Union and other CEMA member-countries, although naturally we also envision an expansion of mutually advantageous cooperation with advanced capitalist and developing countries.

It is becoming urgent to raise socialist economic integration and the mechanism of cooperation among the CEMA member-countries to the level of the requirements of the present. In this respect, talks at various levels are taking place. Certain decisions have been made, including the intention to create in the long-term a common market. This was also discussed at the recent international meeting of secretaries.

At the same time, we must say frankly that this is not a simple process taking place. This stems from internal economic problems of the individual socialist countries and from the different mechanism of management. Czechoslovakia is working actively to apply higher forms of cooperation and to speed up the rebuilding of the mechanism for CEMA activities.

In this respect we have submitted on our own initiative proposals, including a proposal on procedures to create a common market. We are ready to set about tackling in a concrete way these issues, both along the multilateral and bilateral lines. I want to state that our views are in principle identical or close to the views held by our Soviet comrades.

Comrades, the Presidium and Secretariat of the party's Central Committee continued to devote great attention to the preparations for the 18th party congress, both in regard to work on the documents to be submitted to the congress and the tackling of policy issues, and from the viewpoint of a practical policy aimed at galvanizing the party. After the 13th session of the party's Central Committee, work continued on preparations of the principles for the party's program. A meeting of the relevant commission of the Central Committee took place yesterday, at which a number of you were present, at which the first version of this important document was examined.

We want the principles of the party's program in their overall concept to comprehensively embrace the most important areas of our society's life and to outline the basic trends of its future development in the social and economic direction; in the improvement of the political system; in the development of socialist democracy; in the sectors of ideology, education, science, culture; and in the development of the party's internal life and political role within our society, as well in the foreign policy sphere. The draft principles of the program will be finalized on the basis of a rich debate and the conclusions reached at the commission's meeting yesterday. It envisions that after a further discussion in the commission it will be submitted to the party's Central Committee for consideration.

In line with the set procedure, intensive work has continued on the draft of the new party statutes. As is apparent from the report submitted, the activity of the Central Committee organs and the work of the commissions of the party's Central Committee was also very extensive. Once again it was confirmed that the commissions are making a significant contribution to the active participation of members and candidate members of the Central Committee and other comrades in considering fundamental questions linked with the preparation of the 18th party congress, the progress of restructuring and democratization, and the tackling of both topical and conceptual tasks of social and economic development.

The main inner-party task in the coming period, which requires the whole party to concentrate its effort, is to prepare annual member meetings and conferences. We are expecting these to become yet another step toward activating the party and restructuring the style and methods of party work. The entire period of their preparation, the actual course and conclusion which they will accept, will contribute particularly toward strengthening the unity and action of the party, toward the broad development of labor and social activity, so that we can approach the 18th congress with the very best results.

The current period is the culmination of an important stage in the preparation of annual member meetings and conferences, discussions with the members and alternate members of the party. Although more detailed assessments still have to be carried out, one can say now that in their entirety, they were marked by increased effort and activity among party ranks. They brought a multitude of important facts and incentives, not only in the work of party organizations, but also in higher party organs and various spheres of the life in society.

Not all discussions fulfilled their aim; in many places they were carried out formally. In all these cases, one must return to these facts. It is an important prerequisite that in party organizations, committees and in member meetings, all the proposals and critical remarks are discussed, that actual conclusions are adopted, and that they are then fulfilled, including pledges by members and candidates members of the party. Conclusions from the discussions must be used in the preparation of annual meetings and resolutions—used to strengthen unity and action in the party. One cannot disregard the fact that in the party, the Communists' views and discussions reflect some of today's complicated issues. Some members show uncertainty, caused by the fact that one must in many respects change viewpoints and approaches to a number of questions on the further development of socialism and implementing the leading role of the party.

There are also apprehensions about developments in the Polish People's Republic and Hungary. There are important changes going on as regards the position of the party in society. We are supporting the efforts by the PZPR [Polish United Workers Party] and the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party to overcome the difficulties and obstacles to renewing socialism in their countries. There are also attempts by those who do not favor the socialist system to abuse the efforts to overcome obsolete methods in managing society and to seek new ways to blacken the party and the entire period of socialist construction, and to doubt the values of socialism and its further prospects. All this, together, with laziness shown by a number of Communists, and often lack of efficiency in ideological and political organizational work, influences the fact that some members of the party have apprehensions and in consequence of this show passivity and a wait-and-see attitude. I should like to recall yet again in this connection that restructuring is being implemented not to weaken but to strengthen and further develop socialism on the platform of the National Front political system, which has been set up in our country in the process of national democratic and socialist revolution.

As for assessing our past, the period of socialist construction, our basic viewpoints were adopted at the 8th session of the party's Central Committee. We stressed that we have drawn our lessons from mistakes and shortcomings and we are still drawing lessons; we have condemned illegal practices and we have carried out rehabilitation of those unjustly prosecuted. We understand restructuring as a renewal of a Leninist understanding of socialism, a necessary reaction to the new demands of develoment, a resolute rejection of all that is alien to socialist values and which is part of the development of our society, such as fulfilling the heritage of the Victorious February 1948 in the current conditions. We are also continuing in the spirit of the conclusions of the January party Central Committee plenum of 1968.

We will soon recall the 45th anniversary of the Slovak National Uprising. Thus we shall enter the period of celebrations of the 45th anniversary of the liberation of our country by the Soviet army and the culmination of the national liberation movement of our peoples. The Czechoslovak people at that time set out on a path of historical revolutionary transformations, during which, thanks to the leadership of the Communist Party, it won political power and built socialism in our country. We are convinced that these celebrations will significantly contribute to the cause, if they are correctly aimed, as decided by the Presidium, towards strengthening national pride, patriotic and internationalist sentiments and the development of creative energy among our citizens.

In the current conditions, improving the quality of party ranks is becoming important, as well as enhancing their activity, combat spirit and resistance to inimical views. The demands on the work of Communists among the people are growing. The complexity of the situation, the demanding tasks lead some members and candidate members to a weakened attitude to the party, to passivity, and in some cases to leaving the party ranks. We must not register these facts passively and indifferently. This is particularly true with regard to workers. It must be said, on the whole, that we must reinforce orientation toward work with the working class, which was always a support of the party. The Presidium of the Central Committee will analyze in depth the causes of problems in the development of the membership base. It is necessary everywhere to asess the implementation of Central Committee resolutions for the improvement of party ranks and to adopt specific measures for further action.

We must pay attention to recruiting university students into the party. The analysis of the membership base has shown that it is necessary—particularly in the Czech lands—to recruit active comrades into the party from the 45-55 age group. In this age group the rate of party membership is much lower than in the younger and older age groups. The main thing, however, is the admission of young people under 35.

We must pay attention—as has been said at previous sessions—to former party members, possibly readmitting those who work honestly for socialism and actively support the party's policy.

To enhance the party ranks, the conclusions of the ninth session of the party Central Committee must be thoroughly implemented and all primary party organizations must be put into action. They are in the forefront of the struggle for concrete promotion and implementation of the party's policy in enterprises, localities, at all places of work. Practice has shown that wherever there is an active party organization, the results are good too.

We highly appreciate the functionaries who work at this level of party structure and, next to their working tasks, they selflessly implement important party duties.

The managerial activity of all party bodies, particularly of district committees, must be directed more thoroughly towards increasing the weight and authority of the primary party organizations, and to reinforcing their independence and responsibility, which requires providing them with a flow of timely information.

Now more on the work of primary organizations in places of residence: It is doubtless that as a result of deepening socialist democracy the importance and responsibility of territorial party organizations is increasing, including organizations in homes. This is a result of increasing the authority and responsibility of the basic grades of national committees, the reinforcement of independence in the activity of primary elements of the National Front's organizations, the importance of trade and services and also the political activity of various groups. From this viewpoint, experience has shown that it is necessary to reassess the participation of registered Communists in party work at their residence.

Comrades, having as our point of departure a joint interest in strengthening socialism and peace, we paid great attention in the past period to the development of cooperation with fraternal communist and workers parties of the socialist countries and other states. Serving this aim were the meetings between the general secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee and their leading representatives. Of great significance was the April visit by the CPCZ general secretary to the Soviet Union, the extensive talks with Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev, a characteristic of which was full unity of views on the topics discussed. Once again they emphasized the importance of an exchange of experiences for further progress in the processes of restructuring and democratization, noting that every country makes progress according to its conditions and tempos with the aim of strengthening further socialist development.

Our talks were aimed above all at the further development of economic cooperation, the deepening of production cooperation by way of entering into direct relations between enterprises and setting up joint enterprises and organizations, including making use of the capacities of the defense industry as Comrade Adamec previously discussed these questions with the chairman of the Soviet Government.

Apart from this we discussed a wide range of questions connected with the further widening of mutual relations in ideology, education, culture, physical education, and other areas. The processes of revolutionary change that are taking place in Soviet society will undoubtedly continue to provide stimulus for us. This is why we followed the course and results of the recent USSR Congress of People's Deputies in Moscow with exceptional interest. In it we see an event which trangressed the borders of the USSR with its significance. We express full support for the message of the Congress of People's Deputies, which turns to the nations of the world with an appeal to do everything jointly for the preservation of peace and the flourishing and progress of all humanity.

During all meetings on our part we expressed our full readiness to continue, together with the Soviet Union and other socialist states and peaceloving forces, to take an active part in the spirit of the new political thinking, in the process of disarmament, the development of European cooperation and the creation of a comprehensive system of international peace and security. The development of friendly relations and cooperation between socialist states is of exceptional importance for the strengthening of socialism both in individual countries and on a world level. From this viewpoint we welcome the May Soviet-Chinese summit meeting, the first in 3 decades. The renewal of contacts between the CPSU and the CPC is considered in particular to be a very important result of this meeting. This fact is significant not only for both fraternal parties but also for the whole international communist and workers movement and for the socialist world. Goodneighborly relations between the Soviet Union and China will undoubtedly have a favorable influence on the whole of the Asian and Pacific area and on further improvement of the world political atmosphere.

The recent events in Beijing and other Chinese towns met with increased interest from our party and public. We express the conviction that the Communist Party and the people of the Peoples Republic of China will succeed in overcoming the existing problems. We wish them success in solving the complicated tasks of strengthening and further developing socialism in this large friendly country.

Questions of European security and cooperation have an important place in our foreign political effort. The conclusions of the Vienna follow up meeting became a significant impulse for further developing the European process. In harmony with our democratic legal order we responsibly approach their fulfilment. In this spirit we participated in the preparation and proceedings of the recently ended London information forum and the paris conference on human rights that is now taking place. We give exceptional attention to the military political aspects of European security. In doing this our point of departure is our own historic experience, the geographic position of Czechoslovakia, and the conviction that only by way of political and military detente can we strengthen peace, develop mutually beneficial cooperation, and solve global problems.

Our initiatives are aimed at establishing a zone of trust on the line of contact between the states of the Warsaw Pact and NATO, as well as joint proposals by the CPCZ, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, and the Socialist Democratic Party of Germany to set up a corridor free of nuclear and chemical weapons. We are actively approaching negotiations on conventional armed forces in Europe between the Warsaw Pact and NATO, toward deliberations among 35 member-states on the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, and measures to strengthen security and trust. Evidence of this are our unilateral disarmament measures, and a proposal by the Warsaw Pact to open negotiations on reducing the stocks of tactical nuclear weapons in Europe.

A significant problem is presented by the attitudes of some political circles in the West, particularly their effort to modernize tactical nuclear weapons and an unwillingness to scrap short-range missiles. The member states of the Warsaw Pact recently asked the NATO countries to consider new realities in the world and to use new possibilities for successfully overcoming the consequences of the cold war. The appeal suggests unilaterally disbanding both military political blocks, and as a first step for achieving this aim, to disband their military organizations. I think that the negotiations which are now being conducted by comrade Gorbachev in the FRG are contributing toward these aims in this direction.

Another important step was made toward developing ecological cooperation of the states of central Europe on the basis of an initiative by the Czechoslovak Government. Important in this respect was a meeting of the members of governments responsible for the living environment in Czechoslovakia and other neighboring states, which was also attended by a representative of CEMA, as well as a commissar of the EEC and the executive secretary of the UN European Economic Commission. It brought further suggestions on improving cooperation in tackling ecological problems on a bilateral and multilateral basis and for its implementation on an all-European scale. In harmony with our enterprising approach toward these questions, Czechoslovakia was also active in preparing ecological forum which should take place in Sofia in October. We are relying on the fact that ecological problems will be discussed in the next party Central Committee session.

### Scientific Titles Tied to Party Membership

*AU1506105289*

[Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 14 June on pages 1 and 3, under the headline "Prior to the 14th Session of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (CPCZ) Central Committee," publishes replies by senior managers and party functionaries from various Czechoslovak industrial enterprises and scientific and academic establishments to RUDE PRAVO's question about what they regard as "most important for the acceleration of scientific-technical development" in the field in which they work and what they think the 14th session of the CPCZ Central Committee should discuss. The statements, which total 4,000 words, include a 400-word statement by Engineer Mihnea Gheorghiu, candidate of sciences, chairman of the CPCZ primary organization in the Macromolecular Chemistry Research Institute in Brno, in which he stresses the importance of postgraduate studies for prospective scientists.

Gheorghiu mentions that the number of suitable candidates for the post of research student has declined in recent years and continues: "It is all the more deplorable that, in getting approval for them, we meet with considerable lack of understanding on the part of the superior party body. The gaining of the title of candidate of sciences is often unjustifiably associated with the idea of a high rank in the hierarchy and the assignment to a high wage scale, so that it is regarded as a way of rewarding an employee for past merits.

Without regard for the actual situation, one demands party membership or political education, and the like. The approval process is inordinately long and so it happens that the applicant finally leaves for a different workplace, where such problems do not exist." In concluding, Gheorghiu reiterates that he does not see "any reason why the final approval of candidates for the post of a research student should be made by the superior party body" and expresses the belief that the party committee of the appropriate training institution is sufficiently qualified to "to objectively assess the professional standard and moral and political profile of candidates." He therefore recommends that the approval of candidates for postgraduate studies be transferred to the competence of primary party organizations.

## Forum Official Describes New Visa Laws

*LD1406205389 Prague CTK in English 2025 GMT 14 Jun 89*

[Text] Paris June 14 (CTK correspondent)—Czechoslovak delegate Ales Janku today informed participants in the current international conference on human dimension here of measures in the sphere of contacts between people as adopted by the Czechoslovak authorities, particularly those concerning humanitarian cases, passport and visa matters.

He stressed that great attention is paid to reunification of families with a special stress on the interests of children under 18 years of age. There is now made no difference between people who left Czechoslovakia legally or illegally.

Speaking of extending possibilities of travels of Czechoslovak citizens to Western countries, the delegate pointed out that they are limited by lack of foreign currency means. The new regulations improve the possibilities of those citizens who own foreign currencies.

Ales Janku also spoke of measures adopted recently in an effort to simplify and speed up the granting of Czechoslovak entry visas to foreigners. He said that in harmony with the provisions of the Vienna document, the Czechoslovak authorities have decided to limit the range of people subject to compulsory exchange of foreign currencies for Czechoslovak crowns. The measure concerns particularly close relatives, Czechoslovak expatriates and young people under 18 years of age. In this context he pointed out that Western states have not paid much attention to new Czechoslovak measures concerning granting of entry visas as with the exception of Austria, Czechoslovak citizens cannot obtain foreign entry visas on any borders.

Speaking of the application of the mechanism of human dimension between Czechoslovak side was not satisfied with the answer to its inquiry concerning the action taken against a peaceful demonstration in Amsterdam.

On allegations that the Czechoslovak authorities did not allow Jiri Hajek to go to Paris to attend the conference on human dimension, Ales Janku said that Jiri Hajek is now on a private visit in Norway and has not asked to go to France.

## Jakes, Vaclavik Receive Bulgaria's Mitkov

*AU1406171789 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 13 Jun 89 p 1*

[CTK report: "Usefulness of Exchanges of Views"]

[Text] Prague—Colonel General Mitko Mitkov, member of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] Central Committee and chief of the Main Political Administration of the Bulgarian People's Army, and members of his entourage arrived for an official visit yesterday.

Colonel General Mitko Mitkov was received by Milos Jakes, general secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Central Committee, in Prague yesterday.

In a comradely talk, Milos Jakes familiarized the guest with the CPCZ's policy in the period of restructuring and with the tasks the party and society are facing in carrying out the economic reform, in the process of democratization and extension of public access to information, and in reducing troop numbers and armament.

He focused attention on topical questions of the party's ideological and educational work in the present period of preparations for the 18th CPCZ Congress. He supported the usefulness of exchanges of views on these questions and spoke in favor of further cooperation among the allied armies of the Warsaw Pact countries in safeguarding their defense capability. Mitko Mitkov provided information on the situation in the Bulgarian People's Republic and on the BCP's political line in ideological and educational work.

The reception was attended by Colonel General Jaroslav Klicha, chief of the Political Main Administration of the Czechoslovak People's Army, and Toncho Chakarov, ambassador of the Bulgarian People's Republic to the CSSR.

Colonel General Mitko Mitkov, accompanied by Colonel General Jaroslav Klicha, was received yesterday also by Army General Milan Vaclavik, CSSR minister of national defense.

In a comradely and friendly conversation, the leading representatives of both fraternal armies briefed each other on the political situation in their countries and on the progress of the process of restructuring, which is being implemented under the leadership of the communist parties.

The reception by the minister of national defense was attended by Toncho Chakarov, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Bulgarian People's Republic to the CSSR.

### Stepan Receives Bulgarian Delegations 12 Jun

*AU1406184189 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 13 Jun 89 p 2*

[CTK report in the "International Relations" column]

[Text] Miroslav Stepan, member of the Presidium of the CPCZ [Czechoslovak Communist Party] Central Committee and leading secretary of the Prague CPCZ City Committee, received a delegation of the Sofia City Fatherland Front Committee in our capital on Monday [12 June]. On the same day, Comrade Stepan received a delegation of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the People's Republic of Bulgaria-Sofia City Administration, headed by Major General Nikolay Malinchev.

### Charter 77 Founder Allowed To Visit Sweden

*LD1406194489 Stockholm Domestic Service in Swedish 1600 GMT 14 Jun 89*

[Excerpt] Jiri Hajek, one of the most prominent critics of the government in Czechoslovakia, has finally, after 21 years, been given a permit to travel outside of Czechoslovakia and currently he is visiting Sweden. Jiri Hajek, one of the founders of Charter 77, admires Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev and praises him, but does not hope for any quick changes in his own country. [passage omitted]

### Japanese Entrepreneurs To Assess Joint Ventures

*AU1506114389 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 13 Jun 89 p 2*

[CTK report: "On Cooperation With Japan"]

[Text] Prague—A group of 40 Japanese entrepreneurs, who are taking part in the joint session of the Czechoslovak-Japanese Economic Committee, are in Czechoslovakia this week. This body, the Czechoslovak part of which is affiliated with the Czechoslovak Chamber of Commerce and Industry, and the Japanese with SOBOTO—an organization promoting Japanese trade with the USSR and Eastern Europe—will assess new possibilities of industrial and trade cooperation, including establishing joint ventures.

The Japanese entrepreneurs were briefed in Prague on Monday [12 June] on the course of the restructuring of the economic mechanism in the CSSR and its legal regulations. The Japanese experts informed representatives of Czechoslovak production enterprises, central bodies, banks, and foreign trade about environmental protection in Japan and the role of Japanese trading companies in the contemporary economic world.

The guests will visit the Skoda Plzen, Slovnaft Bratislava, and the Martin ZTS [Heavy Engineering Works] production enterprises in the next few days.

Their bilateral trade currently totals Kcs913 million annually, thus making Japan Czechoslovakia's 11th largest trading partner from among the leading capitalist countries.

### Party Bodies Write Central Committee on Concerns

*AU1506104289*

[Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 14 June on page 1 carries a 1,300-word interview with Karel Fotr, head of a Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Central Committee section, by RUDE PRAVO staff journalist Vaclav Pergl entitled "Support Expressed in the Form of Deeds." The interview, the place and date of which are not given, deals with the response in the CPCZ and in society at large to the "Proclamation of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium on the 41st Anniversary of Victorious February," published more than 3 months ago. Fotr mentions that, in response to the Proclamation, the CPCZ Central Committee has received over 22,000 "standpoints and letters" from party organizations, labor teams, social organizations, as well as individuals, the content of which is "full support for the CPCZ's policy and the determination to take an active part in the changes in society." Asked whether the "standpoints" also contain any "suggestions or demands," Fotr then says:

"Members of the primary party organization in Zleby in Kutna Hora district are purturbed by developments in the Polish People's Republic and the Hungarian People's Republic. They draw attention to the fact that in our country, too, some groups are trying to disrupt socialist development. Communists demand that state agencies take uncompromising action against subversive forces, that they proceed with all due consistency, and make full use of existing laws. Such demands appear also in other standpoints.

"Communists from the third CPCZ primary organization in the Maxim Gorkiy No 4 quarry of the J. Fucik Mines in Bilina have been taken aback by the attitude of some artists and university students. They stress that these are people who have a rather wide-ranging influence and are future holders of leading positions—educators of labor collectives. Such people, in particular, should strengthen socialism in our country and develop it on the basis of party policy. More recently, the standpoints also contain strong criticism of Alexander Dubcek's appearance on Hungarian television."

In another part of the interview, Fotr says that, in their letters, party organizations and other organizations associated in the National Front also "condemn the provocative activities of illegal groups and inform the Central Committee that they analyze the activities of these groups and of individuals operating within the range of their influence."

## Party Body on Complicated Situation in Art Unions

*AU1406184589 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 13 Jun 89 p 2*

[Unattributed report: "Session of the Committee for Party Work in the Czech Socialist Republic"]

[Excerpts] Prague—At its session on Monday [12 June], the Committee for Party Work in the Czech Socialist Republic [SR] considered the draft of the closing account of the state budget of the Czech SR for 1988. [passage omitted]

Furthermore, the Committee for Party Work in the Czech SR reviewed the implementation of the conclusions of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Central Committee Presidium on the results of the congresses of the art unions, which were held in the first half of 1987. They were marked by an atmosphere of openness and they fully endorsed the consistent implementation of the policy of social restructuring. Their conclusions also contain demands for improved conditions for creative activity and standing of art in the life of the socialist society. The art unions' activity in the preceding period has produced many positive results. On the other hand, however, not all questions raised at the congresses have been completely resolved and new problems have arisen, especially ideological and political problems. On the one hand, they stem from dissatisfaction with the conditions for artistic activity and, on the other, from the influence of forces that are trying to misuse the process of restructuring for destructive aims. The situation in the unions must therefore be assessed as complicated. Since the congresses of the art unions, a differentiation of views has been taking place in the creative artistic front and in the unions' membership base. Constructive attitudes stemming from the endeavor at an objective view of the development of the arts in our society and at the implementation of restructuring prevail. The conclusions of the 10th session of the CPCZ Central Committee provided a major boost to the development of the unions' ideological and creative activity aimed at influencing works of art and art criticism and at ideological and educational work with young talents. By means of cultural and political work, Communists and party groups must far more intensively influence the life in the art unions, conducting a well-informed and open dialogue and giving strong support to those who stand on the positions of the Communist Party or are honestly striving for it. [passage omitted]

## Honecker Congratulates Bush on Birthday

*AU1406172389 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 12 Jun 89 p 2*

[ADN report: "Congratulations to U.S. President; Greetings From Erich Honecker on George Bush's Birthday"]

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and chairman of the GDR State Council, has conveyed a congratulatory telegram to U.S. President George Bush on his 65th birthday. In it, the certainty is expressed that it will be possible to make a perceptible contribution to continuing and deepening the process of disarmament and detente, and thus to strengthening peace in the world through the development of constructive cooperation between the two states.

## USSR Denial of Report on GDR Crisis Cited

*AU0906123089 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 8 Jun 89 p 2*

[ADN report: "Soviet Spokesman Rejects Defamations by Springer Press"]

[Text] Moscow (ADN)—Soviet Foreign Ministry Spokesman Vadim Perfilyev has rejected defamations of the GDR and the USSR by WELT AM SONNTAG, a paper of the Springer publishing house. At an international press conference in Moscow he said: "Unfortunately, this paper has published another defamation regarding the situation in the GDR and the character of the relations between the USSR and the GDR. The paper predicts a political crisis in the socialist German state and to the Soviet Union it ascribes almost a turning away from its duties as an alliance partner of the GDR. In order to make this defamation appear as truth, the paper referred to statements by a responsible employee of the USSR Foreign Ministry. The wicked goal of the campaign by WELT AM SONNTAG is obvious. First, it tries to spread distrust in the relations between the Soviet Union and the GDR and second, it attempts to influence in a specific way the mood in the FRG on the eve of important events at the Soviet-FRG level. The circles, whose interests are represented by WELT AM SONNTAG, obviously do not like some undisputable facts of today's reality in Europe. One cannot do anything about this. However, fortunately not everything in this world depends on wishes. For almost 40 years the GDR has been in existence in the center of Europe, a state that enjoys authority and respect in the entire international community. All those who hold peace, security, and quiet on the continent dear are interested in this state's stability. The GDR is and remains our reliable alliance partner, with whom we are linked by common goals, close relations of friendship and cooperation, and contractual obligations."

## USSR Foreign Minister Honors Marx, Engels

*AU1406172189 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 10-11 Jun 89 p 4*

[Detlef-Diethard Press report: "In Honor and Commemoration of Marx, Engels, and Lenin"]

[Excerpt] On Friday afternoon [9 June], with a bunch of red carnations Eduard Shevardnadze honored the memory of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, the founders of scientific communism. Together with his GDR counterpart Oskar Fischer, the Soviet foreign minister paid a visit to the Marx-Engels forum in the center of Berlin. Guenter Stahn, deputy chief architect of the capital city, explained the construction of the facility, which depicts important stages of mankind's history and the struggle of the workers movement for socialism. Eduard Shevardnadze admitted that he was very impressed by this forum. The historical ground right in the center of the city, surrounded by architectural monuments, is an ideal place to commemorate the two great geniuses. [passage omitted]

## Sindermann Letter Praises Soviet Appeal to World

*LD1406170189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1444 GMT 14 Jun 89*

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—On behalf of the deputies of the GDR People's Chamber, its president, Horst Sindermann, today stated the GDR's full support of the initiatives contained in the "Appeal From the USSR Congress of People's Deputies to the Peoples of the World."

A letter from Sindermann to the chairmen of the Soviet of the Union Soviet and the Soviet of Nationalities of the USSR Supreme Soviet, Y.M. Primakov and R.N. Nishanov, says that the appeal is again witness to the uncompromising will of the Soviet people to do justice to their historical responsibility for the preservation and safeguarding of peace and for the destiny of socialism.

"In accordance with the dictate of the hour, when the deputies of the highest organ of power of the USSR raise their voices in support of guaranteeing security primarily through political means, replacing confrontation by cooperation, and shaping flourishing cooperation in international relations on the basis of such principles as the strict observance of sovereignty, independence, and territorial integrity," Horst Sindermann stressed.

## Honecker Condolences on USSR Train Disaster

*AU0606150089 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 5 Jun 89 p 1*

[ND report: "GDR's Profound Sympathy to the USSR"]

[Text] East Berlin—Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] and chairman of the GDR State Council, has sent the following condolences to Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet:

Dear Comrade Gorbachev:

We were most deeply shocked about the news of the serious train accident in the Urals.

On behalf of the SED Central Committee, the State Council, and the GDR people I convey to you and to the relatives of the victims of this tragic disaster our profound sympathy and sincere condolences.

Erich Honecker.

## Krenz Meets Saarland Minister President

*AU1006173089 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 8 Jun 89 pp 1, 2*

[Report by correspondents Werner Micke, Werner Otto, and Horst Schaefer: "Great Responsibility of the GDR and the FRG for Peace and Disarmament"]

[Text] Saarbruecken—The joint responsibility of both German states for safeguarding peace and continuing the process of disarmament and detente was stressed in Saarbruecken on Wednesday [7 June] by Egon Krenz, member of the Politburo, secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED], and deputy chairman of the GDR State Council, and by Oskar Lafontaine, Saarland minister president, deputy chairman of the Social Democratic Party of Germany [SPD], and chairman of the Saar SPD.

The two politicians held introductory lectures at the "Saarbruecken Talks," where issues such as European development in the 1990's, the CSCE process as the basis for shaping the common European home, and the special role of military aspects are being discussed.

Egon Krenz is heading an SED Central Committee delegation, which has been invited by Oskar Lafontaine, and was cordially welcomed by him upon arrival at Saarbruecken-Ensheim Airport.

Members of the delegation are Central Committee members Colonel General Fritz Streletz, GDR deputy defense minister and chief of the Main Staff of the National People's Army, and Guenter Rettner, director of the International Politics and Economics Department of the Central Committee, Ambassador Horst Neubauer, head of the GDR Permanent Mission in the FRG, Major General Guenter Hiemann, deputy chief of the Air Force/Air Defense Staff, Major General Rolf Lehmann, deputy chief of the "Friedrich Engels" Military Academy, and renowned scientists.

### People's Rising Interest in Detente

Before the start of the "Saarbruecken Talks," Egon Krenz and Oskar Lafontaine met in the minister president's office.

Egon Krenz conveyed cordial greetings from Erich Honecker to the Saarland minister president, which were returned in kind. During the course of the exchange of views, both partners in the talk affirmed the joint responsibility of both German states for safeguarding peace and continuing the process of disarmament and detente. At present a change toward improving international relations is emerging, which is based on the people's rising interest in peace, security, and detente.

Egon Krenz and Oskar Lafontaine concurrently noted that the CSCE process, including the recently started negotiations on the reduction of conventional forces and armaments as well as on confidence-building in Europe, offer a solid framework for a peaceful future in Europe. They welcomed the latest proposals by the USSR and the Warsaw Pact states for the reduction of asymmetries and the radical reduction of armaments and armed forces of both alliance systems. At the same time they assessed the proposal by U.S. President George Bush on the reduction of conventional armaments in Europe as a step in the right direction. After long silence, it signals the readiness to approach positions that correspond to a real reduction of military confrontation. Egon Krenz and Oskar Lafontaine came out in favor of both German states working in the spirit of a substantive success of the disarmament negotiations.

Militarily, important disarmament steps, like the ones unilaterally implemented by the Warsaw Pact states since April 1989 independent of negotiations, should also determine NATO's future actions. The speedy start of negotiations on tactical nuclear weapons with the goal of further zero-options is indispensable for the continuation of the disarmament process.

### Cooperation With Saarland to be Expanded

Egon Krenz and Oskar Lafontaine paid tribute to the relations between the GDR and Saarland, which have been developing as a result of Erich Honecker's visit to Saarland in September 1987, in the fields of economy, scientific-technological cooperation, the health sector, culture, and sports. They spoke in favor of expanding cooperation and dialogue.

At the opening of the "Saarbruecken Talks," Oskar Lafontaine stated that the Germans in both states are particularly interested in urging their respective alliances to safeguard peace by political means. This is the result of the fact that the alliances are facing each other on the territories of the two states with large stockpiles of arms. Therefore, there is particular interest in calculated disarmament on both sides of the border. The SPD calls for the immediate start of negotiations on nuclear short-range missiles with the aim to eliminate them on both sides. The reservations of NATO regarding joining such negotiations are based on its insistence to the strategy of "flexible response," which has been confirmed at the Brussels NATO summit. The use of nuclear weapons for defense, which is not excluded by this strategy, objectively endangers the existence of the central Europeans. Oskar Lafontaine stressed that he wants to make very clear: "Strategies which envisage the use of nuclear battlefield weapons and short-range nuclear weapons in central Europe, are completely intolerable." Tanks, the great number of which are owned by the Warsaw Pact, are a matter of concern to the FRG, since they are as unsuitable as pawns as nuclear battlefield weapons.

### Europe Must Become Example for World Without Nuclear Weapons

The initiative of U.S. President Bush to reduce conventional armament and troop strengths is welcomed by the SPD. The Vienna negotiations must show how the mutual determination for peace can be transformed into the ability to keep peace, because, certainly the partners in the two alliances would feel good only if the respective military units are changed in such a way that they are no longer able to attack, Lafontaine said.

Furthermore, Oskar Lafontaine states that when the Social Democrats started the dialogue with the SED they proceeded from the fact that, at first, all other matters have to take second place to the need to safeguard peace. This priority was a result of the issue itself, because after the outbreak of a nuclear war, there would not be any other problems for the people in Europe. Thoughts and statements by the SED were similar. Thus, it was the mutual intention to do everything possible to preserve peace which made the talks successful.

Even though in the meantime, the dangerous situation has become a bit less tense, the alert cannot yet be canceled. In particular, one must be wary of using the easing of tensions as an excuse to fall back to the old rituals of drawing borders and not talking to each other. Let us use detente to move towards each other even more, Oskar Lafontaine said. This is a dialectic process: The closer we come to each other the less tense the situation becomes. Of course, the talks must not decay to some sort of peace camaraderie. Serious differences about the forms of social democracy cannot simply be swept under the rug of mutual determination for peace.

Oskar Lafontaine commented on developments in various countries and, in conclusion, he spoke in favor of a common European home. It is worth working together to build such a home, he said.

In his introductory lecture, Egon Krenz stressed that almost 40 years ago the GDR entered history with the pledge to do everything possible so that war will never again come from German soil and from German ideas. Europe must develop as an example for a world without nuclear weapons, without mutual claims for border changes and trade restrictions, for a world that is determined by reason and trust.

### Socialism in the GDR is Inviolable

Therefore, despite all cardinal differences in ideological positions and social values, politicians who want to be of benefit to the citizens of their country and do not want to do harm to those of other states, can only rely on cooperation in solving common problems. Cooperation, however, presupposes the recognition of the historically developed territorial, socioeconomic, and political realities, Egon Krenz said. Dreaming in front of a fire or under the roofs of Mainz of a so-called German reunification or of revising the borders does not promote a climate of trust in Europe, but spreads distrust among the European peoples, Egon Krenz said. The existence of two sovereign, independent German states has become a basic element of the balance of power between West and East for the long term. What is needed is reliability, predictability, and the renunciation of interfering in the internal affairs of others. Socialism in the GDR is inviolable.

Where negotiations are conducted between partners with equal rights, the possibilities of finding joint solutions in the interest of the people are increasing. The agreements concluded with the FRG as a whole and particularly with Saarland, a result of Erich Honecker's official visit to the FRG, are convincing proof of this.

Egon Krenz pointed out that a common European future can be shaped only if both sides are working with equal responsibility for progress in the process of disarmament and detente and in overall relations between East and West. Despite positive signals in international relations, the most direct and comprehensive danger to security still emanates from the military sector. Therefore, the overall concept of socialism is aimed at an agreement that sets equal ceilings for both alliances for the entire area from the Atlantic to the Urals where reductions are to be carried out—equal ceilings for those categories of weapons thatprimarily pose a danger of attack. The goal is mutual incapability to attack. This is also the basis of the Warsaw Pact states' proposal to negotiate on tactical nuclear weapons parallel to the Vienna negotiations.

The joint shaping of a future Europe includes the joint support of antifascism, Egon Krenz said. After all, how can the continents be peaceful if in Western Europe's political scene the dark past can again emerge vociferously, which already once took the people's of Europe hostage and has more than 50 million people on its conscience.

### Policy Toward the FRG Remains Pledged to Dialogue

Safeguarding peace remains the dominating issue in the relations between the two German states. Everything else depends on how this issue is tackled in cooperation. Recently Erich Honecker reaffirmed that the GDR will continue to pursue a policy toward the FRG that is pledged to safeguarding peace, to dialogue, and to business-like cooperation, Egon Krenz stated.

Horst Ehmke, deputy chairman of the SPD Bundestag group, welcomed the unilateral disarmament steps of the Warsaw Pact states, including the GDR's measures, as well as the positive reaction to the proposals of the NATO summit. The SPD and the SED also agree on the question of tactical nuclear weapons. Horst Ehmke stressed that disarmament will free resources for economic, scientific-technological, and ecological development. This will open up new opportunities for cooperation.

Colonel General Fritz Streletz, GDR deputy minister of national defense and chief of the Main Staff of the National People's Army, reported graphically on the proposals for mutual reduction of armed forces and conventional armaments presented by the Warsaw Pact states at the Vienna negotiations on conventional forces in Europe.

**Package of Offers Is on the Vienna Negotiation Table**

These proposals are aimed at the radical reduction of armed forces and armaments from the Atlantic to the Urals, as well as at the reduction of the ability to attack of the two military alliances, he stressed. The package put on the Vienna negotiation table by the Warsaw Pact states corresponds to the military doctrine of socialism to promote mutual security and establishment of trust, and to reduce the level of military confrontation until the inability to attack is achieved, that is, to prevent war. With the help of large demonstration boards, Colonel General Streletz explained the unilateral disarmament steps by the Warsaw Pact states, part of which have already been implemented and part of which are planned to be implemented by 1990; these steps are taken independent of negotiations and as a constructive contribution to further developing trust and promoting the process of detente. He stressed that they should also provide an example to other European states that is worth imitating.

During the further discussion in the afternoon on security policy issues, the following persons from the GDR side took the floor: Colonel General Fritz Streletz, member of the SED Central Committee, and chief of the Main Staff of the National People's Army, Major General Guenter Hiemann, deputy chief of the Air Force/Air Defense Staff, Major General Rolf Lehmann, deputy chief of the "Friedrich Engels" Military Academy, Max Schmidt, director of the GDR's International Politics and Economics Institute and chairman of the Scientific Council for Peace Research, and Ambassador Hans Voss of the GDR Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Speakers from the SPD side were Egon Bahr, member of the SPD Presidium and Executive Committee, Andreas von Buelow, member of the Security Policy Committee in the SPD Executive Committee, Karsten Voigt, member of the SPD Executive Committee and deputy chairman of the SPD's International Committee, Erwin Horn, member of the Bundestag Defense Committee and member of the Security Policy Committee in the SPD Executive Committee, and Hermann Scheer, member of the Bundestag Foreign Affairs Committee.

In the evening the Saarland minister president gave a dinner in honor of the SED delegation, which was also attended by many members of the Saarland Government.

The "Saarbruecken Talks" will be concluded on Thursday [8 June]

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## Krenz, SPD Official Discuss Disarmament

*AU0906140189 Munich SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG in German 9 Jun 89 p 2*

[Martin E. Sueskind report: "Agreement Only on Disarmament"]

[Text] Saarbruecken, 8 June—At the conclusion of his talks in Saarbruecken with Oskar Lafontaine, deputy chairman of the Social Democratic Party of Germany [SPD], GDR Deputy State Council Chairman Egon Krenz relegated all expectations or hopes for profound social reforms in the GDR to the realm of fantasy. At a press conference after the 2-day dialogue with the SPD, Krenz said the GDR is undergoing a steady process of reform and added that "all hopes for an erosion of socialism on German soil have been built on sand."

Krenz affirmed his assessment that it would be good if representatives of both German states were to hold discussions and implement proposals to improve cooperation. What is decisive in this respect is that the realities that have developed in Europe must not be called into question. "The peoples of Europe can live well with two German states," he said, and this will remain so "in the long run; I stress: in the very long run."

Honecker's deputy noted that the comprehensively common views of the delegation of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and the SPD representatives in questions of disarmament are a success. In his assessment, Lafontaine, too, spoke of broad agreement in this field. A declaration accepted by both sides says that strategies that fail to exclude the use of nuclear weapons in central Europe are not acceptable and that, parallel to the Vienna negotiations on conventional disarmament, the elimination of nuclear battlefield weapons and short-range missiles must be discussed now.

The individual disarmament steps are to be accompanied by new confidence-building measures: "Practically as a supervising body" an overall European "alliance-transcending authority" is to be established. SPD Presidium member Egon Bahr explained that if the Vienna negotiations should really lead to results within 6 to 12 months, an enormous need for control and monitoring measures would develop. For this purpose, "control instruments" as an organ of European security would be indispensable. Horst Ehmke spoke of an idea that should be implemented within the framework of the CSCE participating states.

Concerning the discussion of domestic policy issues, Lafontaine said the different views were clearly articulated, even though no side intended to persuade the other to accept its opinion. However, dialogue is necessary if one wants to try to improve mutual understanding. SPD circles said Krenz advocated the view that the two parties should "not continuously hold up the mirror of socialism to the other." However, Ehmke energetically contradicted this.

### Axen Meets FRG Bundestag Deputy Biedenkopf

*AU0606140289 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 3-4 Jun 89 p 2*

[ADN report: "Agreement in Questions of Disarmament and Detente"]

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—On Friday [2 June], Hermann Axen, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED], received Kurt Biedenkopf, Bundestag deputy and member of the Federal Executive Committee of the FRG's Christian Democratic Union, for a talk. The interlocutors were of the opinion that a continuous dialogue between responsible politicians from both German states is necessary and useful. It is conducive to promoting mutual understanding and the overcoming of existing irritations. Both politicians agreed that safeguarding peace is mankind's central task and it requires, above all in Europe, making the initiated change towards improving the international situation, and making it be lasting and irreversible by dynamically continuing the disarmament process.

Hermann Axen stated that the GDR is willing to actively promote the continuation of the disarmament process. This also determines the GDR's decision to unilaterally reduce its National People's Army by 10,000 men and defense expenditure by 10 percent by the end of 1990. No break must be permitted in the disarmament process. It has to be given further stimuli—in this connection the start of negotiations on the reduction of tactical nuclear weapons is indispensable and pressing.

Kurt Biedenkopf explained his views on the questions of security and disarmament. He affirmed that the efforts have to be directed at continuing the initiated process of disarmament and detente and at making it irreversible. He stressed the increasing importance that is accorded to dialogue, equal cooperation, and international scientific exchange in establishing a common European home. This is particularly true with a view to the global tasks of international cooperation regarding the safeguarding of the environment and overcoming underdevelopment and debts.

In discussing bilateral issues, the partners in the talk stressed the basic importance of the communique, which was agreed upon by Erich Honecker and Helmut Kohl on the occasion of the State Council chairman's official visit to the FRG in September 1987. The swift implementation of the stipulations of the communique serves the European security interests and the shaping of normal good neighbor relations between the GDR and the FRG.

The talk, which took place in an open-minded and businesslike atmosphere, was attended by Guenter Kuschkowitz, political staff member of the SED Central Committee.

### Culture Minister Hoffman Receives FRG Minister

*AU0606113489 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 2 Jun 89 p 2*

[ADN report: "GDR Ministers Receive FRG Politician"]

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—On Thursday [1 June], GDR Culture Minister Hans-Joachim Hoffmann received Helmut Engler, minister of science and arts of Baden-Wuerttemberg (FRG), for a talk. The meeting, which took place in an open-minded atmosphere, focused on questions of cultural relations between the GDR and the FRG, and in particular with Baden-Wuerttemberg. Both politicians agreed that arts and culture can make a valuable contribution to understanding among the peoples and thus to safeguarding peace.

Also on Thursday Hans-Joachim Boehme, GDR minister of university and technical school matters, held a talk with Helmut Engler.

Helmut Engler is in the GDR on the occasion of a tour of the Karlsruhe Baden State Theater.

### Mueckenberger Receives Socialist Editors

*AU0506191989 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 1 Jun 89 p 3*

[ADN report: "Editors in Chief From Socialist Countries in Central Committee"]

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—Erich Mueckenberger, member of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Central Committee Politburo and president of the German-Soviet Friendship Society, received editors in chief of the periodicals of friendship societies of socialist countries and NOVOSTI on Wednesday [31 May]. [passage omitted]

The participants from the USSR, the CSSR, the Hungarian People's Republic, the People's Republic of Bulgaria, and the Polish People's Republic who met in the Central Committee building are in Berlin for a routine meeting at the invitation of the German-Soviet Friendship Society Central Presidium and the FREIE WELT magazine.

### Kessler Meets Austrian Civil Defense Delegation

*AU0806112089 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 7 Jun 89 p 2*

[ADN report: "Meeting With Austrian Civil Defense Delegation"]

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—On Tuesday [6 June] GDR Defense Minister Army General Heinz Kessler, member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED], received a delegation of the Austrian Civil Defense. It is headed by Armin Hermann, department chief in the Austrian Interior Ministry.

Army General Heinz Kessler briefed his guests on the achievements of the members and voluntary workers of civil defense in the 40th year of the GDR. These achievements worthily add to the efforts of the Republic's working people in implementing the SED's policy, which is aimed at the welfare of the people and the safeguarding of peace. During the talk, Mr Heinz Kessler referred to the latest disarmament proposals of the Warsaw Pact states at the Vienna negotiations on conventional armed forces in Europe. These proposals are another step by the socialist countries in order to banish the danger of war. Armin Hermann assessed the visit to the GDR as useful to the relations and cooperation between the two states and the civil defense organs.

The friendly talk was attended by Lieutenant General Fritz Peter, chief of the GDR civil defense.

### Foreign Trade Minister on Joint Ventures

*AU1206084589 Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 12 Jun 89 p 8*

[AFP report: "Will the GDR Also Establish Joint Ventures?"]

[Text] Berlin—The GDR no longer rules out the possibility of establishing joint ventures with Western firms. This was stated by Foreign Trade Minister Gerhard Beil on the occasion of the visit by his French counterpart Jean-Marie Rausch. "We only have to be shown that it works."

Referring to this topic, Rausch stated that, for the time being, the GDR wants to wait and see how this cooperation works in the other "fraternal countries."

### Stoph Receives SFRY Minister Horvat

*LD1206195389 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1310 GMT 12 Jun 89*

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, and Franc Horvat, SFRY federal secretary for foreign economic relations, see continuous development in the close, friendly relations and all-around cooperation between the GDR and Yugoslavia. The two officials discussed possibilities for expanding this cooperation today in Berlin.

Willi Stoph and Franc Horvat, who is also chairman of the Yugoslav side of the joint GDR-SFRY economic commission, spoke in favor of purposefully implementing the agreements reached at the highest level. The "long-term program for economic and scientific-technological cooperation between the GDR and the SFRY for the period up to the year 2000" offers the framework for this. From this it can be assumed that, given the two countries' national economic resources, good prerequisites exist for the further development of economic cooperation to their mutual advantage.

The two politicians agreed that the danger of war could be reduced through the active work of all the forces of reason and realism in spite of the continuing resistance. Safeguarding peace remains the central task. The GDR and Yugoslavia will also work to improve the international situation by dynamically continuing the disarmament process, to make it both lasting and irreversible.

### Kessler Receives Polish Army Delegation

*AU0906105989 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 8 Jun 89 p 2*

[ADN report: "Meeting With Delegation of Polish Army"]

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—On Wednesday [7 June], Army General Heinz Kessler, member of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany Central Committee Politburo and minister of national defense, received a delegation of the Polish Army. It was led by Brigade General Hernyk Kostrzewa, deputy of the Polish prosecutor general and chief military prosecutor.

The meeting focused on issues of administration of justice in the GDR National People's Army and the Polish Army. Army General Heinz Kessler briefed his guest about the efforts and achievements of the Army members, which are aimed at worthily preparing the 40th anniversary of the Republic. Legal education and legal propaganda have contributed to ensuring, at any time, the necessary combat strength and defense readiness in the interest of safeguarding peace and protecting the building of socialism, the minister stressed.

The exchange of views in the Defense Ministry was attended by Major General Ernst Girke, GDR deputy prosecutor general and chief military prosecutor.

### Krenz Receives Cuban Army Delegation

*LD0706185589 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1627 GMT 6 Jun 89*

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The GDR is determined to continue to work actively for detente and disarmament. This assurance was given by Egon Krenz, member of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Politburo, in

Berlin today during a talk with a delegation of the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Cuba. He pointed to the unilateral disarmament initiatives of the USSR, the GDR, and the other socialist states, and also stressed that the GDR Armed Forces are able and ready to reliably defend peace and socialism at all times.

Divisional General Rogelio Acevedo Gonzalez, chief of the Central Political Directorate, emphasized Cuba's contribution to the strengthening of socialism and to the struggle to safeguard peace in Latin America and the Caribbean. He expressed thanks for the solidarity of the SED and the GDR with the Cuban people's struggle.

## Soelle Meets Cuban Minister Farah Balmaseda

*AU0606090089 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 2 Jun 89 p 2*

[ADN report: "Expansion of Cooperation With Cuban Cement Industry"]

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—On Thursday [1 June], Horst Soelle, deputy chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, received Levi Farah Balmaseda, Cuban minister of construction materials industry, for a talk. It focused on the further implementation of the agreements concluded between the highest representatives of the two countries, Erich Honecker and Fidel Castro, to deepen economic relations between the GDR and Cuba.

In particular, measures were discussed concerning the continuation in the field of the cement industry—measures which contribute to intensifying the production processes in Cuban cement mills and are directed toward the expansion of the facilities. The partners in the talk stressed that the work concepts signed for this purpose are a good precondition for efficient and promising cooperation.

The meeting was attended by GDR Construction Minister Wolfgang Junker and Ramiro del Rio Perez-Teran, Cuban ambassador to the GDR.

During his stay in the GDR, Levi Farah Balmaseda held talks with the GDR ministers of construction, heavy machinery and installation construction, and electrical engineering and electronics.

## Kessler Receives DPRK Military Delegation

*AU0606113089 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 2 Jun 89 p 2*

[ADN report: "DPRK Military Delegation in the Defense Ministry"]

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—On Thursday [1 June], Army General Heinz Kessler, minister of national defense and member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED], met for a friendly talk with Vice Marshal O Chin-u, DPRK minister of People's Armed Forces and member of the Presidium of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Workers Party of Korea [WPK]. The guest is heading a military delegation, which had arrived for a several-day visit to the GDR on the same day. The delegation was welcomed at Berlin-Schoenefeld Airport with military ceremonies.

The exchange of views in the Defense Ministry focused on topical questions of the military-political situation and the further deepening of the fraternal relations between the two states and their armed forces. The defense ministers noted with satisfaction that the ties of friendship and cooperation between the DPRK and the GDR, as well as between their armies, are developing successfully. The basis for this are the far-reaching agreements between Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, and Kim Il-song, general secretary of the WPK Central Committee and president of the DPRK.

Army General Heinz Kessler reported how the working people and the soldiers of the GDR are preparing with high achievements for the 40th anniversary of the founding of their Republic. It is a primary concern of the members of the National People's Army to ensure that they are at the necessary level of defense readiness at the side of their comrades-in-arms at any time.

During the talk, Minister Heinz Kessler reported on the comprehensive peace initiatives of the Warsaw Pact states, including the GDR. In the future, too, the German worker-peasant state will be guided by the determination to actively contribute to continuing the disarmament process.

Vice Marshal O Chin-u explained that the DPRK has achieved considerable successes in building socialism under the tested leadership of the WPK. He explained his country's initiatives to safeguard peace and to ease tensions on the Korean peninsula.

The meeting was attended by Deputy Foreign Minister Harry Ott and members of the Defense Ministry collegium as well as DPRK Ambassador Pak Yong Chan. During their stay in the GDR the DPRK military delegation will visit troop units and installations of the National People's Army.

## Delegation Visits Army Forces

*AU0606134589 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 3-4 Jun 89 p 2*

[ADN report: "Friendship Meeting With DPRK Military Delegation"]

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—On Friday [2 June], the DPRK military delegation, which is currently in the GDR, visited the ground forces of the National People's Army. Vice Marshal O Chin-u, who was accompanied by Army General Heinz Kessler, acquainted himself with the high level of defense readiness.

The day concluded with a meeting of friendship and comradeship-in-arms in the Anton-Fischer Regiment. Present were GDR Deputy Defense Ministers Colonel General Horst Bruenner and Colonel General Horst Stechbarth as well as DPRK Deputy Defense Minister Army General Kim Kwang-chin.

Army General Heinz Kessler called the stay of the DPRK comrades in class and arms as further concrete proof of the steadily developing cooperation between the two states and armies. In his speech, the speaker pointed out the great responsibility of the army members in safeguarding peace, in the overall strengthening of the GDR, and in reliably protecting the working people's socialist achievements.

Vice Marshal O Chin-u conveyed fraternal militant greetings from the working people and soldiers of the DPRK and paid tribute to the GDR's historical achievements. "We are very pleased to have your people as our close and trustworthy revolutionary fellow fighters as well as our class-minded allies," he stressed. In the future, too, it will be a common concern to do everything for the peace and welfare of the two peoples.

In the morning, the military delegation honored the victims of fascism and militarism as well as the fallen Soviet soldiers. Together with Army General Heinz Kessler, the guests placed wreaths at the Unter den Linden monument and at the monument for the fallen Soviet soldiers in Berlin-Treptow. Also present was DPRK Ambassador Pak Yong-chan.

## Delegation Ends Visit

*AU0906110089 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 8 Jun 89 p 2*

[ADN report: "DPRK Military Delegation Ends Visit"]

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—On Wednesday [7 June], the DPRK military delegation concluded its several-day visit to the GDR. The delegation was seen off with a military ceremony at Berlin-Schoenefeld Airport. Previously Army General Heinz Kessler, member of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany Central Committee Politburo and minister of national defense, met with Vice Marshal O Chin-u, member of the Presidium of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Workers Party of Korea and minister of people's armed forces, for a talk. They assessed the visit as an expression of the steadily developing fraternal relations between the two peoples, states, and armies.

Army General Heinz Kessler expressed the conviction that the visit of the military delegation will provide further stimuli to the friendship and cooperation between the two countries as well as to the cause of socialism and peace. Vice Marshal O Chin-u expressed thanks for the hospitality and the varied opportunities to acquaint himself with the achievements of the socialist German state and their reliable protection.

Members of the collegium of the GDR Ministry of National Defense and DPRK Ambassador Pak Yong-chan were present at the farewell ceremony.

Over the past days the delegation visited troop units and installations of the National People's Army, had numerous cordial talks with army members and working people, and went sightseeing.

## Krenz Meets With SRV Prosecutor General

*AU0606134289 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 3-4 Jun 89 p 2*

[ADN report: "Meeting in the Central Committee With the SRV Prosecutor General"]

[Excerpts] East Berlin (ADN)—On Friday [2 June], Egon Krenz, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, received Tran Quyet, secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Vietnam and SRV prosecutor general, who is in the GDR for an exchange of experiences at the invitation of the GDR prosecutor general. Both politicians paid tribute to the traditional fraternal cooperation between the two parties and states, which is aimed at consolidating the positions of socialism in the two countries and safeguarding peace. [passage omitted]

The meeting was attended by Klaus Sorgenicht, head of the state and legal matters department of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, and Karl-Heinz Borchert, GDR first deputy prosecutor general. Also present was Ta Huu Canh, SRV ambassador to the GDR.

## Stoph Receives Lao Foreign Trade Minister

*AU0206134989 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 31 May 89 p 2*

[ADN report: "Lao Politician Received at GDR Council of Ministers"]

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—On Tuesday [30 May], Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, received Phao Bounnaphon, minister of foreign trade and commerce [title as published] of the Lao People's Democratic Republic [LPDR], who is in Berlin as the head of the Lao delegation to the ninth session of the GDR-LPDR Economic Committee, for a talk. Willi Stoph briefed his guest on the implementation of the course of the unity of economic and social policy. The plan fulfillment results of the first months of this year show that the GDR is approaching the 40th anniversary of its founding with a good balance sheet. Willi Stoph stressed that the party, government, and people have together chosen the path that best takes into account the concrete conditions of the GDR. In this spirit, the working people are making varied efforts to worthily prepare the 12th SED Congress.

The chairman of the Council of Ministers explained the GDR's consistent peace policy. With its allies, it demonstrates the joint readiness of the Warsaw Pact states to make further progress in the disarmament process. An expression of this is its widespread advocacy of peace, security, and confidence-building in Europe, as well as its concrete unilateral reduction of armed forces and armaments. The GDR supports the constructive foreign policy of the LPDR, which is aimed at peace, stability, and good neighborliness in southeast Asia.

Phao Bounnaphon explained the implementation of the decisions of the fourth congress of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party and their importance for the social and economic development of the country. He stressed the active advocacy of the LPDR for improving the situation in southeast Asia, and reported on the initiatives of the three Indochinese states for a political settlement of the Cambodia question. The Lao guest expressed the appreciation of the LPDR party and state leadership for the achievements of the GDR citizens in strengthening socialism and in safeguarding peace.

The two partners in the talk noted with satisfaction that the mutual trusting relations between the GDR and the LPDR are continuously deepening on the basis of the treaty on friendship and cooperation and the agreements concluded at the highest level. They affirmed the determination to further develop and expand bilateral cooperation for the benefit of both sides while including the GDR's solidarity and support for the LPDR.

The meeting was attended by Horst Soelle, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and chairman of the GDR section of the GDR-LPDR Joint Economic Committee. Also present was Vanheuang Vongvichit, LPDR ambassador to the GDR.

## GDR-LPDR Economic Committee Session Held

*AU0206185189 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 31 May 89 p 3*

[ADN report: "GDR-Lao Economic Committee Held Session in Berlin"]

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—The ninth meeting of the Committee for Economic and Scientific-Technological Cooperation between the GDR and Lao People's Democratic Republic [LPDR] was held in Berlin on Monday and Tuesday [29-30 May]. The talks were headed by Horst Soelle, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and chairman of the GDR section in the economic committee, and his Laotian partner Phao Boundanphon, LPDR minister for foreign trade and commerce [title as published].

Based on the agreements that were concluded between the highest representatives of the two countries, Erich Honecker and Kaysone Phomvihane, in September 1988, the talks focused on the tasks for continuing the mutually beneficial bilateral economic relations, and increasing their effectiveness. Both sides concurred in stating that economic cooperation between the two states has to be further intensified in the interest of further strengthening the national economies. The talks on coordinating the plans of the national economy for the 1991 to 1995 period were continued during the meeting.

Horst Soelle and Phao Bounnaphon spoke in support of concentrating on certain areas of economic and scientific-technological relations according to the real needs of the two countries. This involves both further shaping cooperation in the production of raw coffee, and cooperation in the field of the economy. The two sides concluded an agreement on GDR participation in establishing a Laotian coffee company. The GDR will continue to supply equipment and material for the production of coffee, as well as for workshops for the production of timber products that can be exported. There are plans to dispatch GDR specialists to the coffee growing area in order to train Laotian working people in forestry and finances, and provide help in the use of technology.

Vanheuang Vongvichit, LPDR ambassador to the GDR, also participated in the talks, which were conducted in a friendly and open atmosphere.

## SED's Mittag Receives Japanese Visitor

*LD0206120989 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0932 GMT 2 Jun 89*

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Dr Guenter Mittag, member of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany Politburo, and Dr Haruo Suzuki, deputy chairman of the Japan-GDR Economic Committee, praised the high level reached in technical, economic, and cultural relations between the GDR and Japan in Berlin today. Their exchange of views centered on the further development of bilateral relations and the deepening of cooperation in the spheres of trade and industry. Guenter Mittag stressed the GDR's interest in expanding cooperation.

With regard to the development of economic relations, the two men praised the results achieved in 1988. They expressed their confidence that the 17th joint session of the GDR-Japan and Japan-GDR economic committees in Tokyo this autumn will provide fresh impetus to economic and scientific-technical cooperation between the two countries' enterprises and trade firms.

Japan's activities in the GDR include the Japanese cultural days this October. The GDR will be exhibiting contemporary art in Japan for the first time.

## Chissano Greets Honecker on Leaving GDR

*AU3105160989 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 27-28 May 89 p 1*

[Text] East Berlin—On leaving the GDR, Joaquim Alberto Chissano, president of the Mozambique Liberation Front and president of the People's Republic of Mozambique, sent a telegram from aboard his plane to

Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council.

In this telegram Joaquim Alberto Chissano, also on behalf of the delegation accompanying him, expressed his profound gratitude for the fraternal and cordial reception given to him by the people of the GDR, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, and the government, since their arrival in the beautiful city of Berlin.

The Mozambican representative asked Erich Honecker to accept sincere wishes for good health and well-being for himself and for the people of the GDR.

## Fischer Meets African Representatives

*AU0606143389 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 3-4 Jun 89 pp 1,2*

[ADN report: "Meeting With Representative of African States"]

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—"The GDR will continue to support the peoples of Africa in the struggle to consolidate their national independence and to establish conditions of peaceful development, and will grant them solidarity in traditional friendship." This was affirmed by GDR Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer on Friday [2 June], during a meeting with the ambassadors and charges d'affaires of African states, as well as the representatives of the African National Council and the South West African People's Organization, on the 26th anniversary of the founding of the OAU and the Day of Africa's Liberation.

The minister paid tribute to the fruitful political dialogue between the GDR and the OAU member states, which serves friendship and peace.

Oskar Fischer stressed that presently the most important issue remains to banish the danger of a nuclear inferno and to enforce disarmament. He noted that the socialist social system in the GDR is permanently entrenched and is developing stably and dynamically. The socialist German state will unerringly continue its peace policy. The continuation of the processes of detente and disarmament would, however, be endangered, if today someone called into question the borders and the social systems that have been freely chosen by the people.

Referring to the long demanded first reactions by NATO to the unilateral advance moves of the Warsaw Pact, the minister said that further and verifiable measures are expected. The coalition is working both at the negotiating table and in practice. He referred to the current reduction of the National People's Army and the withdrawal of Soviet troops from the territories of the GDR, the CSSR, the Hungarian People's Republic, and the Mongolian People's Republic. Actions by the other side are still awaited.

The minister stressed the inseparable connection between preserving world peace, eliminating regional conflicts, and stabilizing the political and economic situation in the African states.

The processes in southern Africa give the GDR hope for new stimuli to safeguard peace for all states in the region, which, in the end, can be guaranteed only by eliminating apartheid policy. The GDR is in favor of the full implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 435 and of the strict observance of the agreements concluded on Namibia's independence.

On behalf of the heads of the African missions, Julio Goncalo Braga, Mozambican Ambassador to the GDR, expressed thanks for the GDR's friendship and solidarity and its unshakable support of the African cause. He paid tribute to the path covered by the GDR during the 40 years of its existence, which was characterized by the efforts and striving of the working people to build a strong, modern, and flourishing country from the ruins of World War II, a country that is a reliable vanguard in the struggle for peace and social progress. The ambassador welcomed the GDR initiatives for the creation of a climate of trust and stability in Europe and for general and complete disarmament.

The Mozambican ambassador stressed that it remains a concern of the African countries and of all peace-loving forces to eliminate the apartheid system in South Africa and to stop the policy of terrorism and destabilization practiced by the racist regime against the South African people and the Frontline States.

The meeting was attended by Kurt Seibt, president of the GDR Solidarity Committee, Egon Winkelmann, first vice president and general secretary of the GDR League for Friendship Among Peoples, as well as leading staff members of the Foreign Ministry and of social organizations of the GDR.

## Communique on Fifth DKP Presidium Meeting

*AU0506205489*

[Editorial Report] East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German on 1 June 1989 on page 6 carries the 1,500-word "Communique on the Fifth Meeting of the German Communist Party (DKP) Presidium," which was held on 27 and 28 May. According to this communique, Chairman Herbert Mies read a paper entitled "The Road to the Unity of the Party Through the Implementation of the Resolutions Adopted at the Ninth Party Congress," discussing the appeal of the DKP Presidium of 13 May "to all party members" not to hold meetings outside the party "structures," because this enhanced "the danger of a possible split."

The resolutions adopted by the party presidium deal in particular with the warning about a minority organizing itself "in its own structures" and thus pushing the "consolidation of currents" in an "irresponsible" way.

According to the communique, the presidium stresses that it struggles for "every member" to continue in the DKP. The presidium "calls upon the party to hold a productive exchange of opinions on how to get involved most efficiently in the current political, social, and intellectual discussions, and how to renew the party on a Marxist-Leninist basis."

The communique states that the presidium criticized the activities of Presidium members Brigit Radow and Werner Stuermann who organized meetings outside the party structures, and voted them out of the presidium by a majority of 57 to 17 with one abstention.

## FDP Deputies Received in People's Chamber

*AU0606143589 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 3-4 Jun 89 p 6*

[ADN report: "Talks With FDP Representatives in the People's Chamber"]

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—On Friday [2 June], Rudolf Agsten, member of the GDR People's Chamber Presidium and chairman of the group of the Liberal Democratic Party of Germany [LDPD], received Olaf Feldmann, security and defense policy spokesman of the Bundestag groups of the Free Democratic Party [FDP], for a talk in the People's Chamber House in Berlin. The talk focused on questions of international development and relations between the GDR and the FRG.

Rudolf Agsten explained the latest far-reaching disarmament initiatives of the USSR and the Warsaw Pact states, as well as the unilateral reductions that have already been started by the GDR. These steps were fully supported by the LDPD members and by all GDR citizens, and assessed as an expression of the firm intention of the socialist states to achieve substantive agreements at the Vienna negotiations on the reduction of armed forces and armaments from the Atlantic to the Urals.

Olaf Feldmann stated that the FDP is in favor of using all opportunities to achieve disarmament. He referred to the decision of the FDP Congress, which urgently demanded the start of disarmament negotiations on short-range nuclear missiles, and did not exclude a third zero-option concerning short-range nuclear missiles and battlefield weapons. Disarmament must not exclude any category of weapons, he said.

The partners in the talk agreed that Erich Honecker's official visit to the FRG in September 1987 has given new stimuli to the relations between the GDR and the FRG. They stressed the special responsibility of the two German states, their governments and parties, to do everything so that war will never again start from German soil, but only peace.

## Association of Free Thinkers Founded 7 Jun

*AU0906111289 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 8 Jun 89 p 1*

[ND report: "GDR Association of Free Thinkers Founded at First Congress"]

[Text] East Berlin—On Wednesday [7 June], 400 delegates from all bezirks of the Republic met for their first congress in Berlin to found the GDR Association of Free Thinkers (VdF). In the Konrad-Wolf Hall of the Arts Academy, Helmut Klein, chairman of the Central Work Committee welcomed many guests; among them were Guenter Schabowski, member of the Politburo, secretary of the Central Committee, and first secretary of the Berlin Bezirk leadership of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED], SED Central Committee members Klaus Gaebler, director of the Central Committee Propaganda Department, and Berlin Mayor Erhard Krack, as well as representatives of the parties and mass organizations united in the GDR National Front.

A greetings address fromm the SED Central Committee, signed by General Secretary Erich Honecker and presented by Klaus Gaebler, was received with great applause.

In his speech Helmut Klein stressed that a broad public discussion with thousands of citizens took place in preparation of the first congress. The readiness for active participation which was expressed during this discussion is convincing proof of the fact that the VdF is a necessary new social organization.

The VdF considers it its task to contribute to clarifying ideological questions from a nonreligious position, as well as to provide advice and active help for difficult personal problems. On behalf of the delegates, he expressed thanks for the greetings message from the party of the workers class, and gave the assurance that the VdF will do everything to be useful to the socialist society and its citizens.

During the subsequent vivid discussion, 12 delegates reported on projects and first experiences in the bezirks and kreises.

At the end of the First VdF Congress, the delegates elected the Central Executive Committee and the Central Auditing Committee. Helmut Klein was elected as VdF chairman, Eberhard Schinck as first secretary of the Central Executive Committee, and Bernd Heider as second secretary.

During the subsequent informal meeting, Guenter Schabowski gave a toast, in which he expressed congratulations on the founding of the association and congratulated the chairman and the members of the leading organs on their election. He wished the association success in its work of fulfilling its projects for the welfare of the GDR citizens.

## Free Thinkers' Association Statutes Published

*AU0906122489 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 8 Jun 89 p 4*

["From the Statutes" of the Association of Free Thinkers Founded in East Berlin on 7 June]

[Text] The GDR Association of Free Thinkers (VdF) unites members of all strata of the population, who are trying to clarify ideological, philosophical, and ethical-moral questions from a nonreligious position. The association represents the scientific-materialistic ideology. The association is a partner for religious citizens who want to get acquainted with the materialistic ideology.

The VdF is an independent social organization, which, on the basis of the GDR Constitution, contributes with its specific means to the further shaping of the developed socialist society in the GDR and supports the policy of the socialist state and its leading power, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, which is aimed at the safeguarding of peace and the welfare of all citizens. Among other things, the VdF will deal with questions such as: the meaning of life, the values of socialism, the socialist image of man and the conditions of the survival of mankind, and the contents and criteria of progress. It promotes an optimistic attitude toward life.

On the basis of the scientific-materialistic ideology, the VdF addresses the people's individual problems in life; it develops and promotes forms and methods of practical aid in life. It is particularly working for people who need help in important decisions in their lives or in borderline situations. It helps in establishing and developing forms of a culture of secular festivities.

The VdF works for the cooperation of all citizens—regardless of their ideology and denomination—in the further shaping of socialism and in solving global problems, in particular the safeguarding of peace.

Broad honorary work at all levels and in all bodies is characteristic of the VdF. In line with the members' varied interests, a wide range of activities within the association is being developed in the spirit of the VdF goals in members' meetings, discussion rounds, public events, work groups, as well as other, also social forms.

The VdF publishes its own magazine and other publications and uses the opportunities provided by the mass media.

Everyone over the age of 14, who has his residence in the GDR and accepts these statutes, may become a member of the association.

The VdF is divided into members' groups in residential areas in cities, villages, and communities, local associations, kreis associations, bezirk associations, and the overall association.

## 14 Jun Government Statement Praises Imre Nagy

*LD1406181289 Budapest MTI in English 1636 GMT 14 Jun 89*

[Text] Budapest, June 14 (MTI)—The Hungarian Government issued the following statement in Budapest on Wednesday:

The Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic is paying tribute to the memory of Imre Nagy, his associates and all victims of the 1956 popular uprising and national tragedy, sharing the bereavement of relatives. Guided by the intention of national and historic justice, the government has started drawing the necessary conclusions from the 1956 events. In this spirit, it is to present a bill to parliament on declaring the innocence of parties convicted for acts against the state.

The government will do everything in its power to make sure that nobody in Hungary be ever again convicted without adequate legal grounds, in the service of political conceptions. Therefore, it proposed parliament should annul the death penalty for political crimes, and carried [as received] and will present to parliament a bill concerning modification of the penal code section about anti-state crimes.

Evaluating the career of Imre Nagy, the statement says that he was a prominent statesman who realized the necessity of changing the unviable policy alien to Hungarian traditions and putting into practice the national characteristics and lasting human values. The ideas and democratic, humanitarian and national-minded endeavours of Imre Nagy and his followers are major constituents of the present government policy.

The government calls on citizens and their communities to attend the funeral ceremony of Imre Nagy and his martyred associates, the burial and the commemorations throughout the country with a sense of responsibility. They should reject any possible attempt that would hamper creating conditions for cohesion and national consensus of pressing necessity in the current position of our society.

It is the common interest of all Hungarians and every citizen of the country that the funeral ceremony and the paying of final tribute take place in a manner worthy of a European nation, in the spirit of justice and consensus.

On the eve of the day of mourning and reverence, the government confirms its principal effort to promote national reconciliation and social consensus for the rise of the country. A renewal-oriented, consistent and irreversible reform policy suited to national conditions can be the sole guarantee for this.

The government disassociates itself from the erroneous and often sinful political decisions of the past, the retaliatory measures taken after 1956, and expresses its determination to put an end to this trying period. It calls on the nation to join hands. Let us concentrate our forces and creative energy on setting up a new, democratic Hungary.

## Grosz Expounds on Nagy Death, Kadar Recall

*LD1406202789 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1630 GMT 14 Jun 89*

[Text] Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP], took part in an aktiv meeting in Salgotarjan today. Arpad Zengo reports.

[Zengo] First and foremost, I came to Salgotarjan in order to reply to the 87 questions that I received from you, although there was a proposal among them which I did not know how to handle—namely, that the general secretary should come only if he also represents the future. This is how Karoly Grosz began his 2-hour speech in Salgotarjan. The other reason, said the MSZMP general secretary, is that when, at that certain Central Committee session, we relieved Janos Kadar of his two functions, I was sentenced to death by the Salgotarjan Communists; this message was sent in the form of a letter and by telephone. I am not of a nervous nature, but before an attempt may be made to implement the sentence, I decided that I would come here and relate the preceding events.

He then expounded in detail that the basic reason for the current low point is the economic crisis, and the reason for the economic crisis is that the political model has become outdated and has exhausted its reserves. Then a process, not a change of system, is taking place. The decisive majority of our economic problems can be traced back to the mistaken and subjective decisions of the highest level leadership. Thus, our task is to develop a political model in which the possibility for subjective decisions can be reduced to a minimum. But is there such a model? Karoly Grosz asked. Such a model is not functioning in practice, but the only ones we could take from East Europe as an example are those from which we, on the basis of our own experiences, want to be freed. In West Europe, or anywhere in the world, we do not find a political model with socialist content—we only find models which serve capitalist, bourgeois society, effectively in their own way, but they do not set socialism as their political program.

The question was asked: Is there a power struggle within the MSZMP? Yes there is, Karoly Grosz replied firmly, since the various trends, and differences of view, are embodied by people. The characteristic of currents is that they want to be victorious. The question of which one is victorious depends on which one is supported by the membership. At the same time, the general secretary stressed, it is not a battle of functions which is taking place.

Naturally, Imre Nagy was also mentioned, and in that the question arose: How should those who fought against the counterrevolution categorize themselves? The matter must be divided into two. It is one thing if people defended socialism, and if they took part in the prevention of a civil war; it is another thing that it is not proven Imre Nagy was sentenced to death.

The general secretary also spoke about Janos Kadar. He created great things, but he also was part of many mistaken decisions, or his trust was abused and decisions were made on his behalf. But this does not excuse a politician from his responsibility. While appreciating his values, it nevertheless was necessary to take the step regarding his recall, because a chairman whose health has greatly deteriorated, who sometimes is not in possession of his thoughts and actions—for example in the political struggles—cannot be exposed to being used by the opponents against himself and the party.

## Interior Minister Horvath Comments on New Tasks

*AU1406113389 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 9 Jun 89 p 4*

[Interview with Interior Minister Istvan Horvath by Janos D. Kiss; date, place not given: "Where Is the Interior Ministry Heading?"]

[Excerpts] [Kiss] In many countries, the public administration is governed by a separate ministry. Let us begin by saying that many people were surprised when—more than 1 and ½ years ago—the Ministry of Interior was put in charge of the government management of public administration. In the public mind, the Ministry of Interior has always been the main authority of the armed forces, in other words, a "police ministry."

[Horvath] This common knowledge of a "police ministry" has developed in Hungary over slightly more than 3 decades. Before that, it was generally known that, within the government, the interior ministry was in charge of and responsible for public order, public safety, and public administration. This was the case beginning with the first responsible ministry, when Bertalan Szemere was the interior minister. Therefore, I can also say that we are now continuing these traditions.

[Kiss] Of course, with an increased sphere of authority....

[Horvath] The essence of the current changes is indeed the fact that the Interior Ministry activity connected with the government should not be limited to the management of local councils—as was the case with the defunct Councils Affairs Office of the Council of Ministers—but should also cover the areas of district and settlement development, the local council management and budget, and the housing and community services. This means that the Ministry of Interior now has tasks that previously belonged to the Ministry of Construction and Urban Development, the Finance Ministry, and to the National Planning Office. [passage omitted]

[Kiss] In everyday language, people say that the Ministry of Interior is "becoming more civilian." The question that arises here is what is now the proportion of civilian and armed forces apparatus within the ministry?

[Horvath] In my opinion, not this is the main issue here, namely the importance of various branches within the ministry. Needless to say, one cannot mix them up. Their very nature does not allow this: The local council organization is formed from below, by way of elections, and is functioning in an increasing self-governing way. However, let us say that the police is a centrally-directed organization, managed from above and formed by means of appointments. However, it is interesting to see how these two different types of activity appear within the ministry. [passage omitted]

The goal is to modify the ministry's task of managing the police. In other words, the ministry should stop being an organization that gives orders to the police, and become a ministerial guiding apparatus based on general rules of management, or, if you like, civilian rules. We also intend to carry out deregulation in this area.

[Kiss] If I understand this correctly, this would mean an independent police!

[Horvath] Yes, this is exactly what we are talking about; a police organization that would function under the supervision and guidance of the ministry and by means of personnel and material conditions supplied by the ministry, but essentially in an independent way, in other words, it would carry out state and public security tasks. [passage omitted]

[Kiss] Can one imagine a local police authority connected to the local self-government bodies?

[Horvath] This is no longer a heresy. I and other people too have already wondered whether it would not benefit public order and public safety if we transferred the current strongly centralized police sphere of authority to the responsibility of local self-government bodies. This solution seems to have a lot of advantages.... In the case of the fire department, district and local council supervision has been in force for 2 decades, and the organization works properly. However, the issue of a self-government police is not yet on the agenda. [passage omitted]

## New Media Law Urged in Central Committee

*LD1406201789 Budapest MTI in English 1913 GMT 14 Jun 89*

[Text] Budapest, June 14 (MTI)—There is need for a new information law which consistently ensures the democratic operation of political publicity in Hungary, it was stated during the Wednesday session of the social policy committee of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party [HSWP].

Under the chairmanship of Janos Berecz, the session reviewed the experience gained from the operation of political publicity in recent months. The debate revealed further problems in the relationship between the HSWP and the press and in the work of the party bodies active in the mass media, mainly because of the lack of a clear political line in the party.

Besides the natural concomitants of political rivalry, serious deficiencies of political culture and morality have gained ground in public life. There have also been attempts to discredit each other. Such a situation also confronts journalism with major professional and ethical requirements. Contributors to the debate called for the text of the new information law to be drafted as soon as possible and the bill to be adopted after far-reaching discussions.

## Physicist Protests Nuclear Dump Site in Ofalu

*AU1406133389 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 9 Jun 89 p 6*

[Interview with Physicist Istvan Frey by Erzsebet Juhasz; date, place not given: "Open Letter to President of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences—The Decision on Ofalu Should Be Invalidated!"]

[Excerpts] As is well-known, at its meeting on 2 May, the Presidium of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences decided to accept the report submitted by a committee of experts set up to examine the establishment of a radioactive waste dumping site, according to which the site allocated near the village of Ofalu is not unsuitable for this purpose. In connection with this, Istvan Frey of Mecseknadas wrote an open letter to Academy President Ivan T. Berend. We interviewed him about this letter which he had also sent to us.

[Juhasz] What prompted you to write this letter?

[Frey] As I wrote in the letter, I was surprised that, in his statement to the radio program "Evening Magazine" on 2 May, the president did not mention this decision, although this case of the village of Ofalu, a case that has become a national issue, would have deserved mentioning. Although 3 weeks passed since then, the text of the decision and the experts' materials have not been published to this very day. [passage omitted]

[Juhasz] What is your opinion about this issue?

[Frey] I do not consider myself an expert, and I expressed my opinion in the letter on the basis of simple facts. One of these facts is that the artificial and natural barriers must hinder the spreading of isotopes for about 600 years. According to the plans, the barriers would be made of a combination of strata of metal sheets. The life span of these sheets is only 100 to 200 years, and thus, the barrier would also hinder the spread of isotopes only for that amount of time. [passage omitted]

[Juhasz] What did you suggest? What should be done next?

[Frey] In my opinion, the whole procedure should start from the beginning, with a clean slate. The concept according to which the establishment of this nuclear dumping site at Ofalu would be in our national interest is mistaken. As far as I know, and because no systematic research has been carried out, nobody has proved that this place is the most suitable one. [passage omitted]

Finally, I also suggested to the Presidium of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences to revoke its decision made on 2 May and to make it possible for a real professional and public debate to emerge on this complex problem, because this issue cannot be closed by means of a campaign! If the committee of experts maintains its position, the individual opinion of each committee member should also be made public.

## Japan's Okita To Advise on Economic Policy

*OW1406094589 Tokyo KYODO in English 0851 GMT 14 Jun 89*

[Text] Tokyo, June 14 KYODO—Dr. Saburo Okita, an adviser to the Foreign Ministry, will be among some 30 advisers to the Hungarian Government's Committee for External Economic Policy to be set up within this year, diplomatic sources here said Wednesday. Okita, a former Japanese foreign minister, will visit the East European nation from time to time to offer advice on how to increase investment from the Western bloc, including Japan and the 12-nation European Community (EC), the sources said.

According to the sources, Okita has accepted the position in a private capacity. The move follows an agreement earlier in May last year between the two nations to strengthen their economic relations.

The accord was reached in Budapest by Shintaro Abe, then secretary general of Japan's ruling Liberal Democratic Party, and Janos Kadar, general secretary of Hungary's Socialist Workers' Party. Abe pledged Japan's positive cooperation in Hungary's reform program by expanding private investment and untied loans from the state-owned Export-Import Bank of Japan.

## French President Visits Poland, Meets Leaders

### Mitterrand Arrives in Warsaw

*LD1406133389 Warsaw PAP in English 1306 GMT 14 Jun 89*

[Text] Warsaw, June 14—A plane with President of France Francois Mitterrand and Mrs Mitterrand on board landed today at 14:40 hrs at the Okecie Airport here. The welcome ceremony was attended by President of the Council of State Wojciech Jaruzelski and Mrs Jaruzelski.

### Meets With Jaruzelski

*LD1406210989 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 14 Jun 89*

[Text] Belweder—Wojciech Jaruzelski's meeting with Francois Mitterrand. The chairman of the Council of State discussed the situation in Poland and outlined its future development. The president of France stressed his interest in Poland, and also said that the success of the Polish experiment will have great significance even outside Poland. Both speakers assessed the state of bilateral relations, and stressed that, particularly during the past year, essential progress was made, particularly in cultural and scientific cooperation.

Problems concerning economic cooperation were also discussed. Wojciech Jaruzelski and Francois Mitterrand said that the state of economic cooperation is unsatisfactory, and they spoke about the need for more daring and successful action. Francois Mitterrand expressed France's support for more favorable debt repayment conditions by the Paris Club, and for the preparation of a constructive agreement for Poland's cooperation with the EEC.

Wojciech Jaruzelski and Francois Mitterrand expressed satisfaction with the progress of detente in international relations, and supported the development of the Helsinki accord process. They also spoke about overcoming obstacles to the construction of future united Europe.

Next, in the presence of Wojciech Jaruzelski and Francois Mitterrand, Foreign Ministers Tadeusz Olechowski and Roland Dumas signed agreements on exchange of youth, cooperation in environmental protection, and in training leading cadres of enterprises. Finance Ministers Andrzej Wroblemwski and Pierre Beregovoy signed an agreement on restructuring debts.

### Further on Visit, Talks

*LD1506021289 Warsaw PAP in English 0045 GMT 15 Jun 89*

[Text] Warsaw, June 14—President of the French Republic Francois Mitterrand and his wife came on an official visit to Poland today at the invitation from President of the Council of State Wojciech Jaruzelski.

At Warsaw's Okecie Airport, the French guest was welcomed by Wojciech Jaruzelski and his wife. Also heads of diplomatic missions accredited here, led by dean of the diplomatic corps Ambassador of Morocco Abdessalam Ouazzani, arrived at the airport bedecked with Polish and French flags. The welcoming ceremonies were accompanied by military gala.

The president is accompanied by a numerous French delegation composed of ministers of: foreign affairs Roland Dumas, economy, finances and budget Pierre Beregovoy, interior affairs Pierre Joxe, culture and communication Jack Lang, foreign trade Jean-Marie Rausch, industry and regional planning Jacques Chereque and chairman of the France-Poland friendship group at the National Assembly Francis Geng.

The French president invited also with himself to Poland a large group of industrialists, chairmen and managing directors of well-known enterprises and firms as well as representatives of the French cultural and scientific life.

From the airport, Mitterrand, accompanied by Jaruzelski, went to his Warsaw residence.

#### At the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier

In the afternoon, President Francois Mitterrand and the accmpanying persons went to the Victory Square where he laid a wreath at the tomb of the unknown soldier. At the eternally burning fire, he paid homage to generations of heroes of the struggles for free Poland and to those who fought "for your freedom and ours" and signed in the visitors book. He paid homage to the banner of the Polish Army and inspected the guard of honour.

#### In the Belvedere Palace

President of the Polish Council of State Wojciech Jaruzelski met French President Francois Mitterrand in the Belvedere Palace to discuss the relations between Poland and France (their present state and prospects) and the selected questions of the international situation.

The two exchanged information about developments in both countries. Wojciech Jaruzelski discussed the situation in Poland and outlined prospects for its development. Francois Mitterrand stressed that he followed developments in Poland with great interest and wished the Polish people the swiftest possible overcoming of the present difficulties. He stressed also that the success of the Polish experiment would be of paramount importance going beyond Poland's borders.

Sizing up the present state of Polish-French relations, both interlocutors stressed with satisfaction that important progress has been made in them particularly over the past year and this progress should be consolidated and developed in the interest of both sides.

The two referred with attention to the problems of economic and trade cooperation, which experienced certain animation, but still its current state is not satisfactory, it does not meet the interests and possibilities of both sides. Both sides agreed as to the need for undertaking more bold and efficient activities aimed to accelerate its development. The full normalization of financial and credit relations will have a significant importance in this field.

President Mitterrand expressed France's support for postulates aimed to adopt at the Paris Club more favourable principles for the repayment of Poland's debt and to work-out a constructive agreement on Poland's cooperation with the EEC.

The sides exchanged views on international issues, expressing satisfaction over the progress of detente in international relations. Both sides expressed their support for a favourable development of the CSCE process. Stressing our continents unity of civilization and culture, both statesmen expressed the will of further overcoming the existing divisions with the prospect of building the future, united Europe.

The talks passed in an atmosphere of traditional friendship characteristic of relations between the Polish and French nations.

In the presence of Wojciech Jaruzelski and Francois Mitterrand, documents were signed on the cooperation between the Polish and French Government. Agreements on the exchange of youth, on cooperation in natural environment protection, on managers training were signed by foreign affairs ministers of Poland and France, Tadeusz Olechowski and Roland Dumas.

The agreement on the consolidation of debts between Poland and France was signed by ministers of finance, Andrzej Wroblewski and Pierre Beregovoy.

Leaving the seat of the Council of State, President Francois Mitterrand instead of getting into a car waiting for him took a walk along the Ujazdowskie Avenue.

Warmly greeted by Varsovians, President Mitterrand walked along the Lazienkowski Park and the Warsaw Botanical Gardens to the Rozdroze Square (about 300 metres) from where he left by car for the Warsaw residence of the French ambassador.

**Meeting With Primate of Poland**

At the Warsaw residence of the French ambassador, President Mitterrand met with primate of Poland, Cardinal Jozef Glemp. The meeting was attended by Minister of Foreign Affairs Roland Dumas and Minister of Internal Affairs Pierre Joxe.

**At the Palace of the Council of Ministers**

A ceremony during which state distinctions were presented was held at the palace of the Council of Minister in the evening.

The Council of State, in recognition of outstanding contribution to the development of friendly and comprehensive relations between Poland and France, conferred upon President of the French Republic Francois Mitterrand the grand ribbon of the order of merit of the Polish Peoples Republic.

Presenting the order, Wojciech Jaruzelski stressed that it is an expression of deep respect for Francoise Mitterrand's activities on the international arena and an expression of recognition for his contribution to the development of Polish-French cooperation.

Francois Mitterrand decorated Wojciech Jaruzelski with the grand cross of the legion of honour. During the decoration, the president said: Please accept this order as a distinction for a soldier who served during World War Two and in recognition of civic merits. It is an order for Poland and for you, Mr President of the Council of State.

The first day of the visit was concluded by a dinner given by president of the Council of State in honour of the French president and persons accompanying him.

On the Polish side the reception was attended by Prime Minister Mieczyslaw Rakowski who headed members of the government, members of supreme authorities of political parties, representatives of the All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions OPZZ and of the citizens committee "Solidarity", representatives of cultural and scientific circles.

During the reception Wojciech Jaruzelski and Francois Mitterrand delivered speeches.

Thurday's programme of Mitterrand's visit includes a meeting with Prime Minister Mieczyslaw Rakowski. Francois Mitterrand will make a trip around Poland. The first stop in this journey will be the city of Gdansk.

## Debt Agreement Signed

*LD1506023589 Warsaw PAP in English*
*2327 GMT 14 Jun 89*

[Text] Warsaw, June 14—Agreements between the governments of Poland and France signed today, the first day of the official visit of French President Francois Mitterrand to Poland are a fact of vital importance for further development of relations between the two partners. The following are the most important points included in the agreements:

Agreement on the exchange of youth stipulates that both sides will create conditions necessary for the development of various forms of cooperation and exchange of youth. It will be held on the principle of reciprocity and is to embrace youth affiliated in various associations as well as those persons who are not members of associations. Supported will be the exchange of youth in such fields as culture, protection of natural environment, education. A mixed commission for the exchange of youth will be set-up in order to implement the provisions of this agreement.

Agreement in the field of natural environment protection forsees that both sides will support scientific, technological and industrial cooperation. It will be developed in such fields as the exchange of information concerning the policy, administration and management in environmental protection, prevention and control of air pollution and prevention of water pollution, the disposal and elimination of wastes, methods and techniques of the protection of soil, testing of toxicity of contaminants and the protection of fauna and flora. The sides are to facilitate the exchange of experts and trainees. A working group is to be set-up for the protection of natural environment.

Agreement on the training of managers states that the governments of both countries pledge to develop and support direct agreements signed between Polish and French managers training centres, to take advantage of mixed enterprises in the training of managers, to award scholarships and organize seminars. A working team will be set-up to implement this agreement and assure the cohesion of activities in the field of managers training in tune with the general direction of the development of Polish-French cooperation.

Agreement on the consolidation of debts provides for a bilateral agreement on the rescheduling of the repayment of Poland's debt towards France, which is a partial implementation of an arrangement which was concluded by Poland with the Paris Club. The arrangement provides for the suspension for the next four years of repayment of Polish credit obligations towards France. Other agreements dealing with financial and economic realations between the two countries will be also signed on this basis in the near future.

### Ministers Meet French Counterparts

*LD1506021589 Warsaw PAP in English*
*2246 GMT 14 Jun 89*

[Text] Warsaw, June 14—Polish and French foreign ministers met here today during the first day of French President Francois Mitterrand's visit to Poland.

#### At the Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Polish Minister of Foreign Affairs Tadeusz Olechowski and French Minister of Foreign Affairs Roland Dumas made a comprehensive reveiew of cooperation in the political, scientific, technological and cultural sphere. The two expressed satisfaction over the development of these relations recently, stressing that they were stimulated by preparations for the current visit in Poland paid by the French president. Both sides stated that there exist possibilities for further development of these relations.

The sides expressed interest in the expansion of the Polish-French dialogue on such issues as the disarmament talks in the frames of 23 states and 35 states, the implementation of the CSCE decisions reached in Vienna as well as on issues linked with Poland's cooperation with the European community. In this context, Roland Dumas reiterated the declaration made by President Mitterrand that in this field France will be Poland's advocate.

Both ministers expressed satisfaction over the preparation of several agreements dealing with various aspects of Polish-French cooperation. At the same time, they stressed the necessity to quickly work-out concrete implementation programmes and assure appropriate financial means. As for the agreement on industrial managers' training, the Polish side expressed its interest in the training of administration staff. In relation to the agreement on cooperation in natural environment protection, Poland put forward a proposal to create a fund for this end coming from the conversion of the Polish debt. The Polish side also presented a draft on drawing a new uniform agreement on scientific and technological cooperation.

The Polish side also expressed interest in the coparticipation of France in ceremonies marking the 50th anniversary of the outbreak of World War Two.

#### Kwasniewski-Rausch Meeting

Co-chairmen of the intergovernmental commission for Polish-French economic cooperation, Minister Aleskander Kwasniewski and French Minister of Foreign Trade Jean-Marie Rausch discussed possibilities of the development of economic, scientific, technological and cultural cooperation between Poland and France as well as the state of preparations for a joint meeting of the intergovernmental commission which is to be held in Warsaw in September.

#### At the Ministry for Foreign Economic Relations

Undersecretary of State Janusz Kaczurba met with a French delegation composed of minster of state, Minister of the Economy, Finance and Budget Pierre Beregovoy, Minister of Foreign Trade Jean-Marie Rausch, Minister of Industry and Regional Planning Jacques Chereque and also by executive directors of French firms. The meeting's purpose was to brief the French delegation on the directions of the Polish economic reform.

The sides also discussed the possibilities for the development of Polish-French ventures in the field of production and trade and pointed to the existing possibilities for the expansion of mutual cooperation in the field of telecommunications, construction industry and agricultural production.

### Agreement on Cooperation With the Ministry of France

Minister of Finance Andrzej Wroblewski and Minister of State, Minister of the Economy, Finance and Budget Pierre Beregovoy signed an agreement on cooperation.

The agreement provides for the exchange of information and experience as well as organization of consultations, among other things, on the system of taxes, organization and functioning of the financial market, including capital and stock markets and the exchange market and exchange institutions, on the management system in enterprises of the public sector in the market economy, relations between the state and public enterprises as well as on the training of staffs and teachers in the field of finance and banking.

The French side also decided to extend technical assistance in creating in Poland economic, financial and banking training centres.

A working group for Polish-French cooperation will be established for the implementation of this agreement. The group's first meeting is to be held in Warsaw in September.

### At the Ministry of Industry

French Minister of Industry and Regional Planning Jacques Chereque met Polish Minister of Industry Mieczyslaw Wilczek to discuss possibilities to increase the effectiveness of cooperation of partners from both countries against the background of the new economic legislation (joint ventures) and on the basis of a programme for restructuring Polish industry. The two ministers stressed the importance of problems concerning the solution of questions linked to Poland's debt towards France and the dependence of increasing the export potential of Poland's economy on solving credit questions.

Both ministers discussed also the possibility of increasing the share of French firms in the modernization of some branches of Polish industry, particularly petrochemical and chemical, agricultural and food processing and light industries and telecommunication engineering. Both sides pointed to concrete ventures in these branches on the basis of investment of the capital of French firms.

Minister Jacques Chereque positively sized up processes taking place in politics and economy in Poland and pointed to the necessity to adjust Polish economy to the economic system of EEC states after 1992.

### Talks of Ministers of Culture

Polish and French ministers of culture Aleksander Krawczuk and Jack Lang decided to increase access to French books in Poland and to Polish books in France. They decided that Polish and French publishers would meet in Poland and that a broad promotion of Polish books and writers in France would be held in that country in 1990 as part of the annual presentation of "Les Belles-Lettres Etrangeres."

Jack Lang, who will soon chair the council of culture ministers of the European Community, expects Poland to take part in a meeting of culture ministers from all over Europe to take place in France in September-October and in the preceding festival of artists from Eastern and Western Europe.

### At the Ministry of National Education

President of the Paris academy and chancellor of Paris universities Michele Gendreau-Massaloux paid a visit to the Ministry of National Education. She discussed the development of Polish-French cooperation in education during a meeting with Vice-Minister Sajkowski. Contacts in this area increased very much recently and the recent visit by Minister Jacek Fisiak to Paris, recalled many a time during the talks, and its results offer hope that they will continue to proceed successfully.

### Polish and French Interior Ministers Meet

Polish Interior Minister Gen. Czeslaw Kiszczak met French Interior Minister Pierre Joxe, accompanying President Francois Mitterrand during his official visit to Poland.

Both ministers exchanged information about the organization and work of the two ministries and discussed other questions of interest to both sides during a meeting held in a cordial and friendly atmosphere.

## France, Poland Sign Agreements

*LD1506073289 Paris Domestic Service in French 0700 GMT 15 Jun 89*

[Text] At the end of the dinner given in Warsaw yesterday in honor of Francois Mitterrand—in which members of Solidarity took part—several agreements were signed between France and Poland. Paris has announced the reopening of certain credits and the rescheduling of a third of the Polish debt. The French president is going to Gdansk today, the stronghold of Solidarity. He is in fact due to have lunch with Lech Walesa.

## Farming Cooperation Protocol With France

*LD0206030289 Warsaw PAP in English
0048 GMT 2 Jun 89*

[Text] Warsaw, June 1—A French mission for economic cooperation in agriculture, forestry and food industry stayed in Poland.

Polish and French partners signed agreements on the formation of several companies whose activities would contribute to acceleration of technological progress in Polish farming, especially in sugar beet growing and cattle breeding. A special consortium is expected to be set up to focus on application of up-to-date technology in Polish agricultural-food processing sector.

During the talks a protocol was signed under which Polish-French cooperation will be expanded with the framework of long-term contracts.

## Gornicki News Conference on Jaruzelski UK Visit

*LD1306150789 Warsaw PAP in English
1409 GMT 13 Jun 89*

[By Waldemar Janiec and Wieslawa Mazarska]

[Text] Warsaw, June 13—Wieslaw Gornicki, an adviser to President of the Council of State Wojciech Jaruzelski, held a press conference here today during which he made a comment on the course and results of the recent visits paid by Wojciech Jaruzelski to Belgium and Great Britain.

While expressing the satisfaction of the Polish side over the results of the two visits, Wieslaw Gornicki stressed they were the first real step on the road of normalization of Poland's financial and credit relations with the West. They are a final closing of the period of restrictions and isolation and a sign of a general reassessment of Western states' attitude towards Poland.

Wieslaw Gornicki also said the very moment of the visit, which had been held between the first and the second rounds of the elections in Poland, was not accidental and that the climate of the two visits contributed to making more reliable Poland's reformatory line which was questioned in the West.

Wieslaw Gornicki stressed the courteous reception given to General Jaruzelski in Belgium and expressed great recognition for the Belgian Government, and especially for Prime Minister Wilfried Martens, who said he wanted to be an advocate of the Polish cause.

While commenting on General Jaruzelski's visit to Great Britain, Wieslaw Gornicki stressed the hospitality with which the British side received the Polish guest and said the visit was a success and a real breakthrough in Poland's relations with the West.

Wieslaw Gornicki also spoke about Poland's earlier contacts with the Governments of India, Austria and Italy as well as of Arab states which paved the way for the recent visits.

Wieslaw Gornicki discussed also Jaruzelski's talks with Head of the Commission of the EC Jacques Delors who confirmed that the EC attached special importance to relations with Poland.

Talking about the IMF adjustment programme for Poland, Gornicki emphasized that both during the talks at the EC seat and in Belgium and Great Britain the Western side made it clear that they understood that the adjusting process should bring as little consequences for Polish society as possible.

Next, answering the question, Gornicki said that the issue of returning remains of General Sikorski to Poland was not touched upon during Jaruzelski-Thatcher talks. He said also that British minister of state of the Department of Trade and Industry Alan Clark was to come to Poland shortly. Gornicki also expressed thanks to the British side for the "indisputable gesture" which was the donation of pound sterling 25 million for training of Polish managers.

Asked to characterize briefly Jaruzelski's Belgian and British talks, Gornicki said that Jaruzelski's interlocutors expressed great respect for his political consistency, some anxiety about the constitutional and political consequences of the first tour of elections and did not come out with any concrete criticism concerning Polish Government.

Asked about Jaruzelski's plans concerning the first session of the National Assembly, Gornicki said that Jaruzelski has not taken any decision as to this issue yet.

## Poland-FRG Society Established in Szczecin

*LD1406114289 Warsaw PAP in English
1046 GMT 14 Jun 89*

[Text] Szczecin, June 14—The Poland-FRG Society has been set up here by representatives of scientific and other influential circles of the region.

The society aims to promote cultural, economic and scientific rapprochement and cooperation between Polish and FRG citizens.

## Rakowski Receives Kuwait Commerce Minister

*LD1306165489 Warsaw PAP in English
1228 GMT 13 Jun 89*

[Text] Warsaw, June 13—Polish Prime Minister Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski received today Kuwaiti Minister of Commerce and Industry Faysal 'Abd al-Razzaq al-Khalid.

The two officials discussed prospects for cooperation and assessed the enforcing of decisions made during Rakowski's visit to Kuwait.

The meeting was attended by Kuwait's Ambassador 'Abd al-Mohsen Y. al-Du'ayj.

### Israeli Officials Hold Cooperation Talks

*TA1406164689 Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 1600 GMT 14 Jun 89*

[Text] Dan Gillerman, president of the Chambers of Commerce, conferred in Poland with the Polish foreign economic cooperation minister, who informed him that his country is interested in purchasing goods from Israel, mainly in the sphere of sophisticated industries. Our correspondent Gadi Sukenik reports that both parties estimated that the trade between the two countries would double this year. The Polish minister stressed that his government had embraced the principle of free trade, and therefore, any Polish company may trade directly with Israeli companies.

In another meeting, the Polish deputy agriculture minister said that his country wishes to cooperate with Israel in the field of agriculture.

### Walesa, Hungary's Nagy Comment on Discussions

*LD2705203589 Budapest MTI in English 1845 GMT 27 May 89*

[Text] Gdansk, May 27 (MTI)—As reported earlier, Sandor Nagy, general secretary of the Central Council of Trade Unions (SZOT), and Lech Walesa, president of Solidarity, held talks in Gdansk on Saturday.

After the talks, the two politicians gave an interview to the correspondents of MTI HUNGARIAN NEWS AGENCY and Hungarian radio.

Mr Nagy said that the atmosphere of the meeting was better than expected. In reply to the question why he met the president of the independent Polish trade union movement earlier than the leaders of the Hungarian alternative trade unions, Mr Nagy said that Solidarity enjoyed genuine mass support and had a programme of its own. He added that SZOT maintained contacts with the Hungarian alternative unions but he had not yet negotiated with their leaders. It does not mean, however, that he is averse to holding talks with them. Asked whether his meeting with Walesa meant that SZOT had revised its position on solidarity, Mr Nagy said that the current SZOT cannot be compared to the previous trade union movement in any aspect. SZOT must start from the actual condition when it determines its relationship with Solidarity.

The Polish side initiated to include in the joint communique the sentence that Solidarity supported the Hungarian alternative unions rallied by a democratic league. In the talks, however, Walesa spoke less emphatically on the relations of Solidarity with the Hungarian alternative trade unions. While Mr Nagy appreciated the Solidarity's rival union, which is loyal to the PUWP [Polish United Workers Party] and whose leaders met him on Friday, Walesa devoted fewer words to the Hungarian alternative unions whose representatives met him in Gdansk on Wednesday. On this score, Mr Nagy said that the different preliminaries and orders of magnitude spoke for themselves. 'I think Walesa also knows the difference between an organization of 6-8,000 members looking for its place, and an organization rallying some million members and fulfilling a function for long. [no end quotation marks as received]

In reply to a question about the chances of cooperation with SZOT and the alternative unions, Walesa said that both of them could offer something new. He emphasized that the ways of thinking adopted by Solidarity and SZOT are very similar, and added that he had never discussed with Alfred Miodowich, president of the rival union, in an atmosphere that marked his talks with the SZOT general secretary.

### Consultative Commission Members on Meeting

*AU1206144989 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 9 Jun 89 pp 1, 2*

[PAP report: "Eight Hours Instead of Two"]

[Excerpts] Thursday's [8 June] meeting of the Consultative Commission that was established as a result of the "roundtable" lasted 8 hours. Exceptional, but understandable interest accompanied the meeting, which took place on the day on which the official results of the first round of the Senate and Sejm elections were announced. The subjects that were discussed at the meeting, which took place behind closed doors, were described in the terse communique adopted at it. PAP reporters were among those waiting for the results of the meeting. This is what they reported on what took place at the Sejm building, where the meeting was held. [passage omitted]

The final part of the meeting lasted less than 30 minutes. A few minutes after 2300, the members of the Consultative Commission, who were visibly tired, left the "3d May Constitution" Hall, where the meeting had been held. The reporters' patience was rewarded. Reporters asked Lech Walesa what he could tell them after such a long meeting. Walesa replied that if Poles sit down at a table they always manage to settle some matter. What do you mean? asked the journalists. The communique says everything, said the "Solidarity" leader with a smile. Asked what could be added to the communique, Walesa said, we are so tired and I am so tired that I just have to get to bed. Replying to a question from PAP journalists about the atmosphere surrounding the meeting, Lech Walesa said that it was imbued with the spirit of the "roundtable." We have to maintain this. Will there be further meetings? Lech Walesa said that of course there would be whenever a problem arises.

Then the journalists surrounded Prof J. Reykowski. He said: "During the meeting the 'Solidarity'-opposition side said that it would not raise any objections to the coalition side submitting a request to the State Council for additional elections for the vacant Sejm seats. This means that there will no longer be a national list. The elections will take place under the same procedures. It is simply a question of keeping to the agreement on the Sejm having 460 deputies."

Bronislaw Geremek joined in the conversation and said: "We both agreed that the National List was almost rejected in its entirety by the will of the people and that the will of the people as expressed in the elections has to be respected. At the same time, in line with our declaration that agreements have to be observed, we have achieved a legal formula that should ensure that the 'roundtable' decisions are adhered to. We did actually propose other solutions during the meeting. We thought, for example, that the Sejm should have sovereign authority in this respect and that it should make the decision. However, after listening to arguments concerning the situation in our country and conscious of the fundamental changes that our country expects, we have now agreed that the government side should submit the proposals that have been set out in the communique."

Janusz Reykowski added: "The idea that the Sejm should make a decision on this matter was not alien to anyone in the hall, but, as Prof Geremek said a moment ago, we decided that there was an urgent need for the Sejm to address the tasks that it faces and the lack of these deputies could have impaired its ability to do so. So, in a certain sense, this was a necessity that we both agreed on." [passage omitted]

### Communique on 6 Jun PZPR Politburo Session

*AU1206171789 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 8 Jun 89 p 1*

[PAP report: "Communique Following PZPR Central Committee Politburo Session"]

[Text] On 6 June the PZPR [Polish United Workers Party] Central Committee Politburo, at a meeting attended by the first secretaries of the party voivodship committees, assessed the sociopolitical situation in Poland. Initial discussion centered on the outcome of the first round of the elections for the Sejm and Senate, and was followed by a review of the preparations for the second round.

The Politburo received reports on the situation of party organizations at voivodship level, and reports on the feelings prevailing in some professional and social spheres.

The Politburo noted that, among other things, the result of the first round of the elections was not favorable to the party and coalition. As yet, there was insufficient data to make a profound assessment of all the factors which contributed to the result. Initial analysis indicates that the outcome is the result of a complicated mixture of political, economic, historical, and psychological factors.

The elections passed in an orderly manner, and in an atmosphere of dignity and calm. The majority of citizens availed themselves of their right of decision in Polish matters. A considerable number, however, abstained from these elections, and this is an important signal.

The decision to hold elections and accelerate the process of reform was accompanied by an awareness of the complex nature of taking such a step. Such a step was, however, necessary in order to democratize the sociopolitical system, and to carry out economic reforms in accordance with the lines of the 9th and 10th Congresses and the resolutions of the 10th Central Committee Plenum, which were confirmed by the National Conference of Delegates. Without the deepening of the process of democratization and economic transformation, social differences and conflicts, a possible danger to the stability of the country, could have arisen.

Dialogue, accord, and compromise, it was stated, are essential to the development of the country. By submitting themselves to election, the party and its coalition partners convincingly demonstrated their goodwill. Jointly, in partnership, they will act in order to initiate reforms. As the first round shows, they will be supported in this action by numerous groups of nonparty citizens and sympathizers.

A great majority of citizens wish for social peace and order. The stability and security of the state will be protected. State organs and institutions will act efficiently and effectively to prevent breaches of the law, and to prevent anarchy from creeping into social life, which could threaten the state and the process of economic reforms.

The primary interests of Polish statehood, its alliance obligations, the achievements of its working people, and the socially accepted fundamental values of socialism, must not be prejudiced, stressed the Politburo.

Not one of the agreements concluded at the "roundtable" has lost any of its relevance, or its political rationale. The party was, is, and wishes to remain a loyal partner honoring its commitments. It expects the same from the opposition. Respect for the "roundtable" agreements, and the ability to cooperate constructively in the National Assembly, will be the yardstick of patriotic responsibility of those forces which are about to enter the parliamentary arena. The results of the first round have heightened this responsibility.

The party, stressed the Politburo, confirms the proposal for forming a broad coalition of pro-reformist forces which was proposed by W. Jaruzelski in his pre-election speech.

The PZPR and its coalition allies conducted their election campaign honestly and in conformity with the agreements of the "roundtable." Regrettably, election rivalry was often dominated by strongly aroused emotions, and the principle of non-confrontation was not adhered to.

The Politburo pointed to the international repercussions of the Polish election campaign and the resulting responsibility which a socialist state must bear.

The Politburo called on the PZPR authorities, organization, and members to support and implement the social dialogue and the reforms outlined in the 10th PZPR Central Committee Plenum. It called on party members to actively participate in the election campaign leading up to the second round.

There is no other way of guaranteeing the continuity of the sociopolitical and economic transformations in Poland, the Politburo stressed, other than by a consolidation of the party, its activity in the service of the workers class and nation, a full understanding of the opportunity which the reforms represent for the country, and a constructive and responsible functioning of a socialist parliamentary democracy.

## PZPR Nominees for Election Runoff Listed

*LD1406165389 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1025 GMT 14 Jun 89*

[Text] The deadline for nominating candidates for the additional 33 mandates as deputies, set by the Council of State, expires today. The Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] nominates the following persons:

Electoral District No 40 in Rybnik, mandate No 438: Grzegorz Dittrich, age 27, political scientist, Main Board of the Union of Socialist Polish Youth [ZSMP], resident in Bytom; Stefan Mleczko, age 31, political scientist, Voivodship ZSMP Board in Katowice, resident in Chorzow.

Electoral District No 41 in Wodzislaw Slaski, mandate No 439: Andrzej Gdula, age 47, graduate of administration and labor organization studies, PZPR Central Committee, resident in Mokotowska Street in Warsaw; Slawomir Wiatr, age 36, education: lawyer and political scientist, PZPR Central Committee, resident in Warszawa Srodmiescie.

Electoral District No 65 in Nowy Targ, mandate No 448: Roman Ney, age 58, professor of geology of strata, scientific secretary of the Polish Academy of Sciences, resident in Krakow Krowodrze; Marian Stepien, age 60, professor of Polish literary history, professor at the Jagiellonian University, PZPR Central Committee, resident in Krakow Srodmiescie.

Electoral District No 43 in Skarzysko-Kamienna, mandate No 440: Jerzy Karpacz, age 43, lawyer, director of a department at the Ministry of Internal Affairs, resident in Mokotowska Street in Warsaw; Zbigniew Pudysz, age 58, lawyer, deputy minister of internal affairs, resident in Mokotowska Street in Warsaw.

Electoral district No 8 in Biala Podlaska, mandate No 429: Ryszard Grodzicki, age 41, lawyer, political scientist, employed at the University of Warsaw, resident in Warsaw Praga Poludnie; Jozef Oleksy, age 43, economist, minister, member of the Council of Ministers, resident in Warsaw Mokotow.

Electoral District No 5 in Warsaw Zoliborz, mandate No 428: Wiktor Lis, age 51, senior foreman at the Rawar Warsaw Radio Works, resident in Warsaw in Praga Polnoc; Zbigniew Sobotka, age 37, steelworker in Warszawa Steelworks, resident in Warsaw Zoliborz.

Electoral Dstrict No 59 in Lomza, mandate No 446: Stanislaw Gabrielski, age 45, BSc, farmer, employed at the PZPR Central Committee, resident in Warsaw Mokotow; (Krzysztof Janik) age 39, lecturer, employed at the PZPR Central Committee, resident in Warsaw in Praga Polnoc.

Electoral District No 46 in Koszalin, mandate No 441: Kazimierz Cypryniak, age 55, BSc in agricultural studies, member of the PZPR Politburo, chairman of the Central Control and Auditing Commission, resident in Warsaw Mokotow; Mrian Orzechowski, age 58, professor of the history of political science, Politburo member, PZPR Central Committee secretary, resident in Warsaw Srodmiescie.

Electoral District No 13 in Bydgoszcz, mandate No 430: Jan Gluszkowski, 49, assistant professor of humanities; working in the PZPR Central Committee and resident in Warsaw Mokotow. Janusz Z'emke, 40, lawyer, working in the PZPR Central Committee, resident in Warsaw Mokotow.

Electoral District No 47 in Sz czecinek, mandate No 442: Tadeusz Jemiolo (49), professional soldier, employed at the Polish Army, General Staff, resident in Warsaw Wola. Stanislaw Zak, 59, professional soldier, cadre department of the Ministry of national Defense, resident in Warsaw Srodmiescie district.

Electoral District No 84 in Mielec, mandate No 454: Krzysztof Grzebyk, 32, teacher, commander of the Polish Scout Union, resident in Rzeszow. Ewa Kosiorowska, 41, teacher, Education and Upbringing Inspectorate in Rzeszow, resident in Kolbuszowa, Rzeszow Voivodship.

Electoral District No 29 in Kalisz, mandate No 435: Czeslaw Skowronski, 38, private farmer from Bogwidze village, Pleszew parish, Kalisz Voivodship. Ignacy Urbanowski, 43, PhD in agricultural sciences, director of state farms and resident in Kalisz.

Electoral District No 56 in Krasnik, mandate No 444: Henryk Boguslaw Domzal, 51, professor of agricultural sciences, pro-rector of the Academy of Agriculture and resident in Lublin. Kazimierz Antoni Pieniazek, 49, assistant professor of law, head of the Institute of Sociology of Law at Maria Curie-Sklodowska University, resident in Lublin.

Electoral District No 100 in Walbrzych, mandate No 458: Krszsztof Komornicki, 47, journalist and private farmer in Wojtowice, Bystrzyca Klodzka parish, Walbrzych voivodship. Czeslaw Pogoda, 37, political scientist, head of the Klodzko parish, resident in Klodzko, Walbrzych voivodship.

Electoral District No 30 in Ostrow Wielkopolski, mandate No 436: Iwona Lubowska, 48, teacher at the Adam Asnyk secondary school in Bielsko-Biala, resident also in Bielsko-Biala. Gabriela Rembisz, 52, mechanical engineer, Poznan Stomil car tyre factory, resident in Poznan Jezyce.

Electoral District No 61 in Lodz Srodmiescie, mandate No 447: Marek Bartosik, 48, university lecturer, Lodz technical University, resident in Lodz Baluty. Wiktor Pyrkosz, 48, degree in textile industry, employed at the Teofilow textile garment factory in Lodz, resident also in Lodz Srodmiescie.

These are the candidates nominated by the PZPR for the additional deputy mandates established by the Council of State.

### Polish Television Election Debate Reported

*AU1306150889 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 10-11 Jun 89 p 3*

[PAP report: "Television Debate Between Professors Reykowski and Geremek"]

[Excerpts] On 9 June, after the main edition of the news, Polish television transmitted a debate between Professors Janusz Reykowski, member of the Politburo of the Polish United Workers Party; and Bronislaw Geremek of "Solidarity." The debate took place a dozen or so hours after the "Roundtable" Consultative Commission had finished its deliberations. One of the main issues at that meeting was the national list. The two guests of television's first program presented their views on this point.

The commission, stated J. Reykowski, was faced with the following problem, namely, in the course of the "roundtable" negotiations we reached agreement on a certain contract, a certain understanding as to the political composition of the Sejm. As a result of the first round of voting, 33 seats in the Sejm have not been filled. [passage omitted]

I would like to note, J. Reykowski continued, that the idea of a national list is not an ad hoc concept, and it appears in various electoral systems, and in many countries. It also appeared in Poland before the last war, and is accepted in certain other countries. The idea of introducing this list was based on the fact that the coalition forces considered it important that besides the new people who would be elected to the Sejm as a result of the new electoral law and new political situation, there should also be people who have political experience, and who can ensure a certain level of continuity.

This list, one has to say, met with a negative response among the voters. Despite the fact that about 8 million voters cast their votes for it, one has to admit that the list did not meet electoral criteria, and elections for the list were lost. Anyway, the coalition has to regard the voting for this list as a defeat. One is now faced with the pressing problem of what to do next. [passage omitted]

Evidently it was very important that the solution which is ultimately to be proposed should be within the law, J. Reykowski continued. It must not be a solution which in any way breaks binding legal principles. I must confess that this was not an easy issue to resolve. The main idea of these propositions is that supplementary elections should take place, and that these elections should be held on conditions similar to those that other candidates were faced with. This means abandoning the idea of a national list. In truth, the communique does not say anything on this, but this is the intention of the coalition side, namely, to abandon the national list which did not meet with the approval of society. I do not know whether other coalition members agree, but the party leadership also accepts the premise that the vacant seats should in principle be contested by new people. I cannot say whether one or two people will not be standing again. I cannot be sure of this, but I can confirm in all certainty that in principle new people will run. It is also assumed that these should be competitive elections, and that several candidates should contest each vacant seat.

I have listened with great interest to what Professor Reykowski has said about the intentions of the party leadership, stated Bronislaw Geremek. But I have a different opinion of these elections, and of the national list. There were never any agreements concerning the national list at the "roundtable" of the type which obliged the opposition side to accept them. We consider a national list to have been a bad idea and the legal principles governing voting for this list faulty. It is not "Solidarity's" campaign which is to blame here, but the negative legacy of the last 45 years which emerged in these elections. There is also the negative start of the election campaign, a start which saw the tearing down of "Solidarity" campaign posters and allegations about foreign money and national betrayal. [passage omitted]

In the matter of the national list it seems to me that the crucial issue is to accept the truth that has emerged, namely, that the list was rejected by verdict of the electorate and this verdict must not be put aside, B. Geremek said. There is no basis for annulling the result of the first round vote for the national list and for carrying this list over into the second round. However, this leaves the problem of fulfilling the "roundtable" political contract, that is to say retaining 35 percent of the seats in the Sejm for the opposition, and 65 percent for the coalition. This problem should be resolved within the framework of the law, and I am pleased to hear these words spoken and I think such a solution is in the spirit of the "roundtable."

I would like to add a few words, said Janusz Reykowski. You have mentioned, Professor Geremek, the tearing down of election campaign posters. This is an accusation which cannot be levelled at one side only. It is also a strong feeling on the coalition side that a large part of the campaign, though not all of course, was carried on by us in a non-confrontational way, that there were too few words of criticism levelled at our rivals and that there prevailed a tendency to present only one's own program. [passage omitted]

I agree in general that we must think of the next step, stated Bronislaw Geremek. It is important that, as soon as possible, we try to agree on a calendar of democratizational steps, a calendar of changes in agriculture and in the organization of public life. The opposition is conscious of its responsibility for the fate of the country and at present is able to benefit from the support of society, which it received in return for its policy of compromise, dialogue, and wise responsibility for the country. Everything is only just beginning.

## UPP Presidium Considers Election Results

*LD0606230189 Warsaw PAP in English*
*2005 GMT 6 Jun 89*

[Text] Warsaw, June 6—The Presidium of the United Peasants' Party (UPP) acquainted itself today with the course and results of the first round of elections to the Sejm and Senate.

The gathered emphasized that the provisional results showed that the elections were of a plebisicite character. The win of the opposition-Solidarity side may be interpreted as social reaction against the past, as an expression of dissatisfaction with the achieved level of social and economic development of the country and with the state of the advancement of political and economic reforms. Society declared itself for acceleration of transformations as well as for compromise and dialogue and strengthening of the conciliation and cooperation. Active participation of all the present at the round table in social, political and economic life supported by their great feeling of responsibility for the future of Poland is indispensable for crowning with success the process of reforming this life.

The UPP declares itself for building a broad coalition of all pro-reformatory forces, including full participation of the opposition in wielding power and taking co-responsibility for the state, the presidium added.

The presidium extended by deputies-UPP members also assessed the work of the UPP parliamentary floor group and activity of the party's deputies during the recent Sejm term, approving of the active participation of Sejm speaker, UPP chairman Roman Malinowski and UPP deputies in the international relations of the Sejm. "Polish parliament has become in recent years a co-author of the process of detente and cooperation in Europe and the world," the presidium emphasized.

### Fomer U.S. Ambassador Calls Ceausescu 'Monster'

*LD1406222489 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1900 GMT 12 Jun 89*

[Interview with David Funderbunk, former U.S. ambassador to Romania, by unidentified correspondent; date, place not given; from the "Panorama" program—recorded]

[Text] [Correspondent] There are few people who had the opportunity to meet Romanian President Ceausescu so many times and who could officially study his character, his behavior, his negotiation tactics, and his methods of ruling his family from so close than U.S. Ambassador David Funderbunk, who represented his country for 5 years in Bucharest. The brave ambassador opposed the Washington politics of the time, which considered Ceausescu its favorite, and from a tactical viewpoint, supported him both politically and financially. His dictatorial methods and oppressive politics against the nationalities were known to the White House even then due to the exact and trustworthy reports of Ambassador Funderbunk.

Here is the latest report by the former U.S. ambassador about President Ceausescu and conditions in Romania.

Let us start with the history of the eighties. You arrived in Bucharest at the beginning of the eighties: What did you see?

[Funderbunk] Yes, well let me say that the first time I visited Bucharest was in 1971 as a student, and then four more times in the seventies. It seemed that every time I went to Romania the situation was worse. The standard of living was deteriorating, persecution was increasing, and human rights were treated more and more catastrophically. Thus I arrived as U.S. ambassador in 1981 and left in 1985. During this 4-year period, living conditions deteriorated dramatically. [Correspondent] How do you explain this phenomenon? [Funderbunk] Well, the best explanation is that Ceausescu is a madman; he is simply insane.

[Correspondent] You declare this confidently?

[Funderbunk] Yes, he is a lunatic, I have no doubts about that. I have met the Romanian communist leader some 14 times.

[Correspondent] Privately?

[Funderbunk] Not always tete-a-tete, although this has also happened. Sometimes the foreign minister, the vice-president, or a colonel, or U.S. businessmen, or somebody were present, so we had different people when we went there. However, I met him several times privately too. And it is my conviction that he is very cunning, even intelligent, in his own way.

[Correspondent] What does you mean, in his own way?

[Funderbunk] In his own way: He is talented enough to manipulate people to rule them, and control them, to psychologically analyze them. He is very clever; for example, if he is meeting with a U.S. leader, he knows the mental profile of that person much better than the American would know his. And as we say, he is able to press the appropriate button in order to gain the other's personal liking or understanding. He is very dangerous because he uses nuances, references, thoughts between the lines, even gestures to convey what he wants the listener to hear.

But it is a fact that he is paranoid to the extreme, he is an egomaniac who seriously believes that he is God. In fact, in Romania everybody can thank him for everything they have. That is, if there is industry, if there is some economic development, it is all due to Ceausescu, and all progress, too. But I must say that during his rule there has not been too much progress, since what is happening there is an economic catastrophe. But he argues that whatever has occurred is all thanks to his generosity, hard work, and sacrifice. Therefore, regardless of how hard life is in Romania, he says that in his childhood, in the thirties and forties, it was much worse. Thus, people can really thank him for everthing. He is God and they should render homage to him every day in the most unbelievable ways.

Thus, Ceausescu, basically is a Stalinist of the worst type, someone who seriously thinks that he wants to reorganize society, basically because he and his family is adored and served. This is a personality cult extended to the entire Ceausescu clan. But he also uses this ideology in a distorted form to justify and rationalize total control over the people.

This explains, for example, why he thinks it is vitally important to break every peasant, farmer, and worker away from all they know from the past, whether it is their culture, religious belief, or their family. This is why he destroys cemeteries, he destroys churches, houses where they used to live, historical monuments, everything connected with the history and culture of the past, with the West, with Europe, and with civilization. He does away with all these and he crams people into small concrete blocks, into apartments where they are under his control and it depends on him whether there is food, heating, electricity, water, everything. According to him, this is how to rule and how to control and make everybody obey in society. This is a great tragedy in the 20th century.

[Correspondent] This has influenced you to a certain extent, since you have mentioned that Ceausescu is trying most of all to influence the Americans.

[Funderbunk] Well, the first time you meet him, he has a greater effect on you. Then, as you continue meeting him, this effect weakens. Because you see him repeating the same approach, which could seem normal the first time, because this is new for each visitor who comes, but later...

[Correspondent, interrupting] How would you describe this approach?

[Funderbunk] It is a psychological approach. He tries to make the visitor feel guilty. He wants to force you to be on the defensive and tries to touch upon something which, let us say, in his mind, is important to the person concerned.

[Correspondent] And when you met the first time, did he succeed in this?

[Funderbunk] Well, I would not say that regarding me. I had lived with families in Romania who told me what a monster, how harmful he is, what he had done, that he ruined the people of the country. I was rather suspicious, and right from the very beginning I was very wary of him. But now, I would just like to say that Ceausescu puts on a good show the first time.

[Correspondent] A significant question is: How did Romania breed this leader and how can it get rid of him?

[Funderbunk] Well in my view, Ceausescu is the logical product of the system. In practice, this is the worst side of the communist system. Since Stalin was able to come to power, and Kim Il-song in North Korea, and Pol Pot in Cambodia, why could Ceausescu not have a chance to gain total control over the people? The Stalinist era was able to successfully terrorize the people and it has also intimidated and made them submissive to some degree after World War II in Romania, so when Ceausescu wanted to achieve total control and to torture people to an even greater extent, he was able to build on this Stalinist system.

I think the Romanian people, together with those living outside the borders, have to do something, not only to get rid of Ceausescu, but also to get rid of the possibility that another Ceausescu could gain power once more.

[Correspondent] But how? The question is what can they do?

[Funderbunk] How is a very difficult question. I mean, it is not so easy for me to say as an outsider. I can only say that I wish, that within the country, more and more people would show more courage. There were several brave and courageous people among those who have fled from the country. But more people should be ready to stand up bravely and state their opposition within the country. And we have to act the same way too in the West, because we did not support the people but the Ceausescu regime. This is tragic from the Western point of view.

Ceausescu could remain in power partly because the United States, the West Germans, the British, and the French supported him and gave him help. It must be shown to the world that this man is a monster and must be punished with sanctions and other economic measures. This is the way. The Western world has to unite and follow a policy of not supporting Ceausescu.

So I have reported, as ambassador, about what was happening in Romania and I gave my recommendations as to what should we do. Although, I have to say, of course, that Washington did not accept my recommendations and this is why I left the office of ambassador.

[Correspondent] So, Mr Reagan and his aides did not believe you?

[Funderbunk] Well, the people in the United States and Mr Reagan in his foreign policy, did not really pay any attention to Romania or Hungary. They were not really interested in or aware of the situation. Because, really, foreign politics were directed by the people in the State Department, for example, Mr Eagleberger. And they considered Ceausescu the favorite of the United States—all the way from the Nixon and Kissinger era. They wanted to maintain this relationship with Ceausescu and they did not want me to upset this. This is why they ignored what I was saying.

So, when I left the office of ambassador...

[Correspondent, interrupting] You resigned.

[Funderbunk] Resigned, right. I have opened my mouth and many others have done the same. For example, one of the leaders of the Romanian security service, Pacepa, who defected and later published a book, or Father Carlsen.

[Correspondent] Is this a good book?

[Funderbunk] Yes, fairly good. I think it explains the situation well. But we must not forget where the author came from and the fact that he was one of those who helped Ceausescu to realize his work. If we read the book in light of this, then its message is interesting and most of it is fairly accurate.

Fundamentally, the politics of the Ceausescu regime is against everyone in Transylvania—the Romanians, the Hungarians, and the Germans. Ceausescu wants to destroy their religious ties, their community, and their family ties. He wants to sever them from their past, from their Western and European cultural orientation. There is no doubt that what he has done is tragic for all the people living inside Romania.

[Correspondent] Regarding the entirety of Eastern and central Europe, how do you see the reforms in these countries? Since in the Soviet Union and in Hungary, reform is viewed quite differently than, for example, in East Germany or in Romania and Czechoslovakia.

[Funderbunk] I am encouraged by what the Hungarians are doing and what the Poles are doing. However, if Czechoslovakia and Romania decide to unite with East Germany and Bulgaria, then it could be very dangerous with regard to what is happening in Hungary and Poland. This would mean a danger for their endeavors, for their aspiration for greater freedom. It would threaten their possible neutrality and their independence. So I hope that these four countries will not succeed in creating such an anti-reform alliance since this would contradict human endeavors and our hopes that in Eastern Europe human rights will be enforced better in the future and freedom will be greater for the people. I think it would be a catastrophe. Hopefully they will not be successful; who would want to make an alliance with Ceausescu and his regime in good conscience and in their right mind? Nobody should be such a fool, so let us hope that the other similarly hard regimes may recognize this. There is no sense in making an alliance with such a madman whose family and personality cult is destroying his people.

[Correspondent] Did you know the members of his family too, for example his son, Nicu?

[Funderbunk] I did not know him personally, I have only read reports about him. I have certainly met his wife, Elena, and his brother, Ilie, who is a general—the deputy defense minister. So I have met several members of the family, but the others I only know from intelligence reports and from other sources.

The wife is also egocentric, an egomaniac. She wants all the power herself and total control over the people. She looks upon the people as her feudal dependants, like slaves in the time of the Roman empire. According to the mentality of Elena and Nicolae Ceausescu, the people are only slaves and we do with them what we want.

The brother, Ilie Ceausescu, is in a key position, but on a personal level he seemed to be a bit more human. But in the Army and in the Ministry of Defense he carries out the policies of his brother and his brother's wife.

[Correspondent] Who has the power in the Ceausescu family—the wife or the husband?

[Funderbunk] In my opinion, they share power. In the country, perhaps people hate Mrs Ceausescu more than President Ceausescu. Some believe that behind the scenes, the woman holds the reins. But in reality the husband rules. However, the wife would like to snatch all the power—that is my own opinion. Perhaps she will do so after the death of Ceausescu, but I cannot see so far into the future.

I have a feeling that the death or downfall of Nicolae Ceausescu would terminate the Ceausescu clan; this is my opinion.

[Correspondent] Have you been back to Romania since 1985?

[Funderbunk] Not since 1985. I was also proclaimed persona non grata in Romania, therefore it would be very dangerous for me to return because of what I have said about Ceausescu and his regime. Living conditions are constantly deteriorating. Obtaining food has become so difficult that many people are undernourished. Many babies die in hospitals because they are malnourished; children grow up in need and poverty because they do not get proper medical care and food. The almighty regime forces the entire population to be obedient and the people, virtually 24 hours a day, try to get scraps of food. This is why people work so little and so badly in Romania, because most of the people are forced to obtain some sort of food through bribes, lies, cheating, and stealing. This is what this corrupt and declining regime has done to the people, which causes terrible devastation in human hearts and in the human spirit and mind.

But as an optimist, I should say that between 1981 and 1985, I noted what Ceausescu fears most. Most of all he fears the people. But the encouraging side is that despite all this, the martyrs who have sacrificed their lives for their convictions, today the people consider them to be heroes; and they live on, and what they have done lives on. Just as those who were heroes of the revolutions of 1848 and 1956 in Hungary are heroes to the Hungarian people today. This gives reason for hope in Romania. The brave ones always write to me in their letters that they long for freedom. They know that they have to destroy this monster, to get rid of him and his system.

## U.S. Book 'Transylvania Romanian Land' Published

*AU1406175989 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1725 GMT 14 Jun 89*

["Important Book of Romanian History Launched in Bucharest"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 14/6/1989—The second edition of Milton G. Lehrer's book "Ardealul Pamint Romanesc (Problema Ardealului Vazuta de un American)" (Transylvania Romanian Land—The Issue of Transylvania Seen by an American) put out by the Bucharest Scientific and Encyclopaedic Publishing House, was launched at the Central State Library, on June 14.

The event was attended by Edith Lehrer, the author's wife, as well as by Professor Virgil Candea, chairman of the "Romania" Association, Vasile Vacar, director of the publishing house, lecturer Ion Patroiu, doctor, editor of the book, who also authors the preface and the notes, Angela Popescu-Brediceni, director of the library.

Written between 1940 and 1944 and published in Bucharest right after August 23, 1944 for the first time, "Ardealul Pamaint Romanesc" is the most important book of American journalist Milton G. Lehrer (1906-1969), international law doctor, chairman, in the years after the war, of the Association of Foreign Press Correspondents in Romania. It was written in two versions, Romanian and French, but printed only in Romanian before. Some of its chapters were translated though into languages of international circulation, being used at the Conference of Peace in Paris (1946).

Mastering exceptional historical information, the author organized his matter with the science of an expert in international law and of a publicist with European experience, producing a perfectly original book.

Perfectly informed about the subject-matter, abreast both of the Romanian and international bibliography, Milton G. Lehrer only commented on obvious facts. His book serves only the general interests of mankind that lived through the tragedy of war. It was precisely the unleashing of all forces denying the law and the truth about the life of the European nations that reinforced his stand, the editor stresses, a stand which resulted in a book of unquestionable, exemplary value. The originality and efficiency of Milton G. Lehrer's book reside above all in its inner structure, in the hierarchy established for the matters discussed.

The vast editorial apparatus on the new edition of the book rounds off for the readers the data regarding the progress marked in the last 45 years by the Romanian and international historiography in the knowledge of realities and issues sometimes given by the American author only a cursory survey, gives more depth to and consolidates the work that rests upon the most objective historical truth. Besides the monographs produced by Academician David Prodan, of "Supplex Libellus Valachorum," "The Uprising of Horea" and "The Serfdom in Transylvania," by Academician Stefan Pascu of "Transylvania's Voivodate" or by Silviu Dragomir of Avram Iancu, new works are referred to like the volume of documents "1848 With the Romanians. A History in Data and Evidences" (two volumes by Cornelia Bodea), "1928 With the Romanians," the extensive syntheses "The Military History of the Romanian People," the three syntheses of Romania's history by Mircea Musat and Ion Ardeleanu put out so far and the monograph "Transylvania—An Ancient Romanian Land" by Lieuenant-General Ilie Ceausescu. A most valuable contribution to the analysis of the process of emancipation and of the struggle of the Transylvanian Romanians was made, among the foreign authors, by American historian Keith Hitchins in several works, some of them published also in Romanian. All these new works, rigorously emphasized in the notes to the book, allow for Milton G. Lehrer's book to be read from a new angle, bringing to the fore still more its unquestionable scientific value.

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## Six Romanian Citizens Flee to Austria

*AU1206084389 Vienna WIENER ZEITUNG in German 11 Jun 89 p 4*

[Text] Six Romanian citizens, five young men and one woman, succeeded in crossing the technical barriers of the state border in the Guessing District on Friday evening [9 June] and in the night from Friday to Saturday.

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## Ceausescu Visits Agricultural Units in South

*AU1406183989 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1748 GMT 14 Jun 89*

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 14/6/1989—Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the RCP [Romanian Communist Party], president of Romania, paid a working visit on June 14 to units of state-run and cooperative agriculture in the southern part of the county.

In full progress of the cereal harvesting campaign, the party's general secretary met with workers of the cooperative producer farms of Greaca and Mihai Bravu and the Adunatii-Copaceni state agricultural enterprise, Giurgiu County, the Draganesti-Vlasca, Furculesti and Maldaeni cooperative producer farms and the Alexandria state agricultural enterprise, Teleorman County, the Crimposia cooperative producer farm and the Brebeni state agricultural enterprise, Olt County, the Segarcea state agricultural enterprise and the Bailesti cooperative producer farm, Dolj County.

Together with the members of the bureaux of the county party committees, with experts in agriculture and working people who were busy with the harvesting and the other season works, he discussed during the visit problems regarding the smooth run of the summer farm campaign, especially the harvesting and storage of barley and wheat, the way how action was taken for the integral fulfilment of the targets set for agriculture, in keeping with the requirements of the new agrarian revolution.

The party's general secretary analyzed in all visited units the condition of the cultures, the quality of the works, listened to accounts of the level of productions and of labour organization, recommending that action be taken more adequately and energetically, in conditions of order and discipline, for the work to be well done.

The first secretaries of the county party committees expressed the commitment of the working people in agriculture, of everybody working there, to do their utmost for the exemplary fulfilment of the tasks entrusted.

## Assembly Federal Chamber Meets, Adopts Laws

*LD1406221489 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1340 GMT 14 Jun 89*

[Excerpts] [No dateline as received] The Federal Chamber of the SFRY Assembly, at a separate session after the report by Federal Executive Council [FEC] President Ante Markovic, adopted as a matter of urgency the law on financial dealings, one of a package of regulations which create the conditions for market economic activity. The chamber decided that the discussion in connection with the premier's speech and the proposed economic policy measures for this year should be carried out at tomorrow's session of the chamber. Tomorrow, the agenda of this assembly chamber will also include proposed changes to the law on accounting, on which agreement in principle has been reached in the Federal Chamber Committee for socioeconomic relations. Also postponed until tomorrow is consideration of the proposed law on the construction of nuclear power stations in the SFRY.

The Federal Chamber today verified the mandate of delegate Milorad Sredanovic, who was elected in supplementary elections in the Socialist Autonomous Province [SAP] of Vojvodina.

The delegates also considered information on the international aspects of human rights and the activities of the SFRY, in connection with which Milivoje Maksic, deputy federal secretary for foreign affairs, made an introductory speech.

Following this, the Federal Chamber adopted conclusions in connection with the report by the federal secretary for internal affairs on the activities of the internal affairs organs in the SAP of Kosovo in realizing the decisions of the SFRY Presidency on the special measures in that province. The SFRY Presidency, according to these conclusions, should inform the SFRY Assembly in July on the application and results of the implementation of the special measures taken in Kosovo and on the directions for further activity to stabilize the situation in the province. The Federal Chamber recommended that all subjects of social self-protection, state organs, and organizations should increase their activities in taking preventive measures to preserve stable public order and peace, so that the celebration of 600 years since the Battle of Kosovo, the forthcoming tourist season, and the nonaligned summit can all take place in conditions which are favorable from a security point of view.

The Federal Chamber accepted the report on the implementation of federal laws and other regulations on the movement and residence of foreigners and refugees from Albania and on the actions of the internal affairs organs.

The chamber entrusted the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs with the task of immediately undertaking all legal measurres against the refugees from Albania who took part in the counterrevolutionary events in Kosovo and who are avoiding any regularizing of their status or legalizing of their residence in our country, or who are avoiding accepting the decision that they are Yugoslav citizens. The Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs is entrusted with the duty of reporting at least once a year to the Federal Chamber on the implementation of the law on the movement and residence of foreigners, paying particular attention to the number of refugees from Albania who have been granted the status of refugees in our country.

The Federal Secretariat for Labor, Health, Veterans' Issues and Social Policy is duty-bound to directly control the application of the law on the residence of foreigners, particularly those regulations which determine resources for accommodation and the material welfare of refugees. The Federal Public Prosecutor's Office, in cooperation with the responsible judicial organs in Kosovo will have to check all cases involving property illegally acquired by the Albanian refugees. [passage omitted]

The delegates today adopted changes to the constitutional law for implementing the amendments 9 to 47 to the SFRY Constitution. These extend the term for coordinating 22 federal laws in the sphere of socioeconomic relations to the end of this year, laws which are of paticular importance for the creation of the legal preconditions for the transformation of associated labor. The remaining federal laws should be coordinated with the amendments by the end of July the following year. [passage omitted]

Following the discussion the delegates voted by a majority to support the proposals made to the committee for Socioeconomic Relations by Radivoj Tepsic. This means that Yugoslav promissory notes will be terminated by 30 September and that salaries will take precedence over other obligations to creditors.

The chamber today accepted information on the international aspects of human rights and the activity of our country in that sphere. After the discussion the delegates concluded that the FEC, when proposing laws and other regulations, should put forward those solutions which will ensure a more consistent protection of people's constitutional rights, as well as the rights established in international documents ratified by our country.

The Federal Secretariat for the Judiciary should establish which international documents the SFRY has not ratified, and why, and by November should prepare proposals for our country to move toward signing those documents. The secretariat was also given the task of submitting a report by the end of the year to the chamber on the implementation and protection of the human rights of our citizens temporarily working and living abroad and of those parts of the Yugoslav nations which live as minorities in neighboring countries. It was also concluded that a working group should be formed in the

SFRY Assembly to deal with the implementation of human rights and freedoms, and if necessary a separate working body should also be formed. [passage omitted]

Yugoslavia, with its approaches and achievements, has attained a high level in the sphere of human rights which for years has brought it a well-deserved reputation, said Deputy Federal Secretary for Foreign Affairs Milivoje Maksic in his introductory speech in connection with the consideration of information on the international aspects of human rights. Thanks to the degree of awareness in the wider international community, those rights, he stressed, can no longer be exclusively within the competence of the state, but they are also under the specific control and protection of international institutions. The number of countries today who do not accept this principle is very small. In Europe there are perhaps only two, and they pay for this with a high price and a poor reputation, said Maksic.

Yugoslavia has significantly contributed to the formulation of the most important multilateral documents of the United Nations on human rights and it is among the top countries in terms of the number of conventions it has accepted in this area, said Maksic. As early as 1978 it submitted a draft declaration on the rights of national ethnic, religious, and linguistic minorities to the Commission for Human Rights in Geneva. Concern for the rights of our nations in neighboring countries is, according to Maksic, one of the priorities of our foreign policy. Concern for all of them is equal, but not the results, which in large part depend on the sociopolitical and legal system and respect for freedoms in each country, Maksic pointed out. The results, he added, also depend on the degree of organization of the members of our nationalities, and with their links with their mother nation. [passage omitted]

Maksic called in particular for the proposal for coordinating the regulations on human rights in recognized international documents with our judiciary to be submitted to the assembly before November, which is the planned time limit.

He also pointed to the need to improve the criminal legislature in order to ensure the uniform protection of basic human rights and freedoms throughout the country. This, he said, also presupposes the abolition of so-called verbal political criminal acts, and a reduction in the number of criminal acts punishable by the death sentence. He proposed that the SFRY Assembly should form a body which should constantly concern itself with the protection and advancement of human rights.

The Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs will inform the international bodies concerned with human rights about the conclusions of this chamber, Milivoje Maksic stressed.

At the proposal of Bogdana Glumac Levakov, president of the Federal Chamber of the SFRY Assembly, the delegates decided to discuss at tomorrow's continuation of the session the proposed measures of economic policy for this year and to adopt the laws on accounting and on banning the construction of nuclear power stations in the SFRY.

### Commentary on Chances of FEC, Markovic Success

*AU1506081789 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 9 Jun 89 p 6*

[Dragoljub Zarkovic commentary: "The Race Between the Tortoise and the Hare"]

[Text] Ante Markovic has finally been placed in the situation in which he can remind the public that: 1) he has never promised to bring down inflation quickly, 2) he promised that the crisis would be calmed down in 5 years, and 3) he is always prepared to leave the post of president of the Federal Executive Council [FEC] if those who were applauding him yesterday are now getting ready to boo him.

At this time of angry grumbling about hyperinflation—the daily increase will probably be 1 percent in June—Markovic's government is entering the special phase of "total soccer" when, with the aim of scoring, the fullback scores the goals, the goalkeeper plays left-wing and also has to substitute into a position in the middle of the field... The situation is like this because two concepts are in violent conflict.

Any sensible person would understand the fury of the man in the supermarket and his demand that is politically articulated in the neologism that "something urgent and radical should be done," but any sensible person would also easily recall the failure of all the "urgent" and "radical" measures whose total effect was an even greater rise in prices.

#### Counting and Chickens

Markovic firmly believes that the program of measures and legal provisions which the government has already sent to the Yugoslav Assembly is enough to curb inflation by the end of the year.

The calculations appear simple: In July and August a "seasonal" calming down of prices is expected and after fall the measures which the government is proposing should begin to have an effect. Markovic is not naive in promising what all the previous governments have promised, and before which many goodwilled people have recoiled in horror, as if before some alchemist's invention: that production will be increased and inflation will be reduced.

Markovic is promising the first thing and as for the second thing, he firmly believes that because of revived production there will not be a reduction in inflation but a calming down of the inflationary spiral.

The calculations are very precise, especially since they are based on exact figures: Production is reviving, imports are quite large, foreign currency reserves are estimated at what is for us a fantastic $5-6 billion (by the end of the year), the economy will, it is estimated, be relieved of a burden of $3 billion, and so on....

However, no matter how attractive the calculations seemed, the logical question is asked: Is this not a matter of counting chickens before they are hatched because the new government was applauded when it came to principles but the debates on specific measures (read: money) have shown that things will not exactly go smoothly.

This concerns the fact that all the government's proposals will not pass through the SFRY Assembly easily and the delegates' attitude will determine to a great extent whether the FEC policies will be carried through and at what speed.

### A Lot and a Little

Both the developed and the underdeveloped regions are dissatisfied with the budget. According to the classic scheme of things, the former think that they are giving a lot and the latter think that they are getting little. The jokey optimism of the government president is not much help in this matter when he says that this is the best sign that the budget was well-conceived, but the basic question is whether the budget will really be cut and in which way and in which items.

The government has proclaimed the change to the four reform laws (presented to the SFRY Assembly: on enterprises, banks, the financial system, and accounting) as violently anti-inflationary, but a different view of matters has been expressed even in the initial debates and Markovic's government heard the first "no" because it was decided at the Committee for Socioeconomic Relations of the SFRY Assembly Federal Chamber that the Law on Accounting should not be adopted with the so-called "urgent" procedure.

In this committee, the delegates from the developed regions (Croatia and Slovenia) claimed that the main change concerning the revaluation of means increases losses by almost double according to their simulations, while the delegates from Macedonia and Bosnia-Hercegovina cited their simulations which showed a totally opposite outcome: Losses would supposedly be reduced by at least one half. The FEC did not simulate anything but was rebuffed.

This therefore concerns the fact that it is not really certain that all the government's measures, which it believes are the key lever to calming inflation, will be adopted on time and in the way that the government is proposing. However, this brings into question the formulated concept of fighting the crisis.

Connected with all this is, of course, the question of to what extent the present economic situation is being used to "push a specific political interest"—one interest today and another tomorrow—in which, most often under the guise of sanctimonious concern for the living standard of miserable people or for some far-off reform aims, the other "communities" are accused of being exploitative or dogmatic.

It is not easy for the government in such an environment, but its consistency is at the moment impressive as it represents a very attractive, economically sensible option for those people who are tired of the constant wandering from all kinds of freezes to the same liberalizations, and all this in the short term, until a new political wind begins to blow.

In the race between the tortoise and the hare, it would be worth betting on the slower one, at least this time. So far the hares have always lost the race.

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## Proposed Accounting Law Rejected by Committee

*AU1406111189 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 7 Jun 89 p 1*

[Dj. Kesic report: "The First 'No' for the New Government"]

[Text] Belgrade, 6 Jun—The economic policy of Ante Markovic's government received its first "no" today in the Yugoslav Assembly. In the Federal Chamber's Committee for Socioeconomic Relations, where a debate was begun today on four systemic laws which were sent back for re-drafting, the Law on Accounting was subjected to serious criticism and, with a vote of 7:5 with 3 abstentions, the delegates refused to adopt this document in an urgent procedure, which was the clear proposal of the Federal Executive Council [FEC]!

It was particularly interesting that the delegates from the most developed federal units (Croatia and Slovenia) voted against the urgent procedure and their representatives were also the most vociferous critics of the basic provisions of the Law on Accounting which relate to revaluation of the material goods of work collectives. The federal government had in fact proposed that obligatory revaluation relate only to basic property and basic means and that the market establishes all other possible revaluation.

As key arguments for changing this law (which was inherited from Branko Mikulic's government), the FEC cited that it is a serious producer of inflation and it is complicated. Therefore it would be left up to the market to regulate the obligations of work collectives, and the number of items in the obligatory revaluation would be reduced by 60 to 70 percent. The extent to which Ante

Markovic's government cares about these initial assembly debates on the four main laws for economic reform is also shown by the fact that Zivko Pregl, FEC vice president, and Branko Zekan, federal finance minister, found themselves in the role of defenders of the Law on Accounting.

To the main arguments which the FEC included in the explanation of the law, Zivko Pregl also added the most logical one which, to judge by everything, was not sufficient for the delegates of the Committee for Socio-economic Relations to accept the law, namely the argument that it should be foreseen that market laws will not operate in some segments and in precisely this respect it would be necessary to build in state regulations. This means that state regulations should be excluded from the economy as much as possible and full responsibility should be transfered to economic entities. The state should take care of the price of money from the primary issue as this is the most expensive money.

Branko Zekan added to this that the present practice of revaluation gave the banks revalued earnings which were above the expenditure of $1.5 billion, which is the money that is taken out of the economy. It is true, said Zekan, that economists in our country have differing views of the problem of revaluation, but the FEC thinks that the law that has been presented is the most suitable for a market economy.

The delegates had quite opposing views on all of this. Daniel Pucko expressed the fear that giving freedom to enterprises through non-obligatory revaluation could create fictitious earnings which would be turned into expenditure. Apart from that, all this would allow deviation from the real interest rate (because of the fictitious earnings) and the real exchange rate of the dinar could thereby be bypassed.

The delegates from Slovenia claimed that they had carried out a simulated implementation of the proposed new law. According to this experiment, losses would rise in the economy (according to the basis of revaluation) five or six times over! The delegates from Bosnia-Hercegovina announced that they had also carried out a simulated implementation of the proposed new law in their republic and had arrived at completely opposite indicators! The question from the delegates from Croatia was: How did the FEC come to the conclusion that the present law was inflationary without a simulated implementation? The federal government representative replied that the present law was passed without a simulation. It really is not clear what the destiny of the first reforming laws of the new federal government will be.

A quite serious puzzle remains: Why were the delegates from Slovenia and Croatia expressly against the urgent procedure (which implies the serious possibility that they will take this stand regarding the other three laws on enterprises, bookkeeping, and banks) and why were they the most vociferous critics of the new law on accounting? The first thoughts on this move lead to the conclusion that the developed regions fear that by not adhering to the market laws, the underdeveloped regions will avoid any revaluation of means (apart from the obligatory revaluation) and in this way amass new losses which will later appear as the concern of the federation. The FEC representatives could not persuade them today that collectives which do not respect the logic of the market will have to sink.

To judge by everything, Ante Markovic's cabinet will in the future have to reckon with the fact that the time of smiles has passed and the delegates will "build into" the reforming laws not only their own interests but also the fear of other people's interests and the possible inconsistencies.

## Horvat Holds News Conference on Economic Systems

*LD0106193589 Belgrade TANJUG in English*
*1521 GMT 1 Jun 89*

[Text] Frankfurt, June 1 (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia seeks an economic system modeled after such market economies that have proved their efficiency in the world, Franc Horvat, Yugoslavia's federal secretary for foreign economic relations, said here today.

Asked at his press conference in Frankfurt on Main, the Federal Republic of Germany, whether an economic reform and stimulation of foreign capital investments mean giving up self-management, Horvat replied that being broken off is with a semblance of self-management only and, while safeguarding socialist values, an efficient market economy is being sought. [sentence as received]

Horvat met with the press at the seat of Deutsche Bank, a leading financial house in the Federal Republic, where a business meeting discussing possibilities for foreign capital investments in the Yugoslav economy was held today.

"We are not introducing a special treatment of foreigners, but we are creating a unique system in which various forms of ownership will be on equal terms. A possibility for self-management or joint decision-making will depend on the place of activity," Horvat said.

Horvat pointed to his conviction that Yugoslavia is going, on the grounds of general interest in its market economy reform, to materialize an indispensable minimum of political balance. Save in Kosovo, nowhere else there have been problems with security in Yugoslavia, he pointed out.

In the first four months this year registered was a five per-cent rise in overnight stayings by foreign tourists and the overall foreign exchange inflow went up by 30 per cent.

The federal secretary indicated that the Yugoslav Government would soon take short-term measures for curbing inflation, but a true remedy is to have long-term structural changes in the national economy as well as in the political and economic systems. To be continued are, he said, the lowering of public expenditure, a restrictive monetary policy, tighter financial discipline and efforts to do away with surplus in commodity exchange with the clearing area bound to instigate inflation.

### Army Calls for 'Stable, Timely' Financing
*LD1406182289 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1713 GMT 14 Jun 89*

[Text] Belgrade, June 14 (TANJUG)—The party leadership of the Yugoslav People's Army (JNA) sent word here today that a stable and timely financing of the nation's Armed Forces must be provided.

Addressing a session of the committee of the League of Communists to the Yugoslav People's Army here, Col Gen Svetislav Popovic recalled that in the past fifteen years funds set aside for the Army had gone down from 6.17 per cent to 5.2 per cent of the national income. This year's budget, however, has an amount of 4.9 per cent of the national income set aside and even a cut to 4.6 per cent was brought forward when the federal budget was rebalanced last time.

In Gen Popovic's estimate, various forms of attacks on the JNA grow stronger at the time of fixing the amount of means meant for the Army.

"From some circles," in debates on how to finance the Army, he remarked, "some unprincipled questions are posed, tactless stands are voiced and actions are taken making it more difficult to in time pass the federal budget."

This is done "by forces to which the Army stands in the way as the bulwark in defence of the socialist self-managing federal Yugoslavia," he observed.

Mistaken are theses supported by those who "wish to make the public imagine as if the Yugoslav People's Army were in a favoured material position so as to considerably disburden the national economy by way of further cuts in its budget and as if the Yugoslav People's Army were to blame for the country's having found itself in an economic crisis, he sent word.

Last year, a 15.8 per cent fall in real Army pays was registered. He adduced figures in corroboration while taking part in the debate that confirmed the Army Communists' option for economic reforms in Yugoslavia.

### Drnovsek Presents Award to Ambassador Piotrowski
*LD1306204889 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1310 GMT 13 Jun 89*

[Text] Belgrade, 13 Jun (TANJUG)—Janez Drnovsek, president of the SFRY Presidency, today presented Czeslaw Piotrowski, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Polish People's Republic in the SFRY, with the Order of the Yugoslav Flag With Sash. Following the ceremony, President Drnovsek and Ambassador Piotrowski spent some time in a friendly conversation.

### Drnovsek Receives Outgoing Iraqi Ambassador
*LD1306210289 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1318 GMT 13 Jun 89*

[Text] Belgrade, 13 Jun (TANJUG)—Janez Drnovsek, president of the SFRY Presidency, today received Mamduh 'Abd al-Hamid [as received], ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Republic of Iraq, on a farewell visit.

### Racan Interviewed on Nationalism, Disputes
*AU1506075489 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 7 Jun 89 p 13*

[Josip Jovic report: "On Behalf of People or Man"—reprinted from Split NEDJELJNA DALMACIJA, date not given]

[Text] ...As long as nations exist, relations will exist among them, and there will be problems in these relations and nationalist aspirations. However, the place these aspirations assume depends on the social development and prospects. When shortcomings appear here, national and nationalistic conflicts arise. The deepest form of the crisis arises when it is attempted to present every problem as a national problem, and then there is no solution, Ivica Racan, member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, says in his interview in NEDJELJNA DALMACIJA. Our failures and the crisis of a model of socialism have brought the national problem to the fore. When the basic supports in the life of a man are endangered, nation remains his only support. Here is an example: In Serbia, where the population is two thirds Serbian and one third others, we have had no problems yet with the Hungarian nationality, because of the good solutions of the interethnic relations in Vojvodina and because of the better quality of life of the Hungarians here as compared with those in Hungary. Now, however, innovative searchings in Hungary are yielding results, and problems begin to appear. Because of all this, the key problem is what we will do with the reform of economic and political life. Through the reform, we will reach more realistic substance, more harmonious national relations, and prospects that individual peoples and nationalities will have as against the prospects of national discord offered by the forces of nationalism. There is no simplifying this. When national relations deteriorate, they will not automatically improve with the cessation of the reasons causing them. The essential thing is to reduce them even when we think that we will solve the crisis, and it is true that these clashes are an important handicap on the way out of the crisis. And when we solve the crisis, the shadows of a negative historical memory and accumulated old and new bruises will remain. Both selfish and double standards of assessment are grave:

what you tolerate among "your people," you do not tolerate among others; and what you excuse among "your people," you magnify among "others...."

[Question] Clashes have broken out at various levels, but the Serbian-Slovene clash seems to be most pronounced lately. Why?

[Racan] Probably because both sides have gone through the processes of national homogenization which intensifies national sensitivity. Here we also have significant differences about the nature of social development and socialism. Representatives of polarization here and there, of intolerance, exclusiveness, and strivings to capitalize on the errors and failures of others, and to keep quiet about one's own, have probably also contributed to this clash.

[Question] The problem of the position of Serbs in Croatia has again been made topical in the interethnic friction. How much for a good reason and how much for some other requirements?

[Racan] Disturbances in interethnic relations in Yugoslavia also influence interethnic relations in Croatia. The problem of joint life in Croatia should be left to people who live there: the Croats as the majority people and the Serbs as the minority in Croatia, who have their state there, and not to some bureaucracy or other or national representatives. The problem is not that Croatian nationalism exists. It will exist as long as there is a Croatian nation. The problem arises when the nationalist platform is presented as Croatian. The problem is not that Simo Dubajic exists as a declared Serbian nationalist; the problem arises when he is promoted as a national and Yugoslav fighter. In both cases the question arises what is Croatian, what is Yugoslav, and then we must quarrel about it. In all this there is never too much tolerance toward the one with whom you live together. Much can be done here in expressing the cultural identity of the Serbs in Croatia, which will not mean their isolation and separation. There is also no reason that national feelings should not be freely expressed. All this can happen without excessive politization and without creating artificial problems. For instance, precisely the language of the Serbs in Croatia is closest to the official version of the Croatian literary language, but one wants to speak about two languages or about the language of the main core as their natural language. The Cyrillic script as an element of great-Serbian nationalism is also pushed on them. The equality of the peoples and nationalities cannot be ensured exclusively through state regulation, and especially not through aspirations of the national state paternalistically to ensure the equality of its compatriots in other national states, because all this goes at the expense of federal relations. However, we are far from a situation in which it will no longer be necessary to influence interethnic trust and prevent interethnic hatred. I am in favor of abolishing verbal offenses, but not the offenses of fanning national hatred. This is not done even by the countries invoked by those who want to abolish verbal offenses....

## Australian Minister Interviewed on Relations

*AU1406124589 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 12 Jun 89 p 9*

["Special interview" with Gareth Evans, Australian minister for foreign affairs, by S.A. Pavlovic in Canberra: "Better Relations Have Already Begun"—interview took place on unspecified date in June]

[Text] We talked with Gareth Evans, minister for foreign affairs of the government in Canberra about Yugoslav-Australian relations after the SFRY General Consulate in Sydney was closed down and three members of the staff of the Australian Embassy in Belgrade were expelled.

[Pavlovic] Senator Evans, after the incident in Sydney last November, relations between Yugoslavia and Australia which used to be very good have suddenly cooled off. What are the chances for the two countries to resume the normal relations they had in the past?

[Evans] We are still affected by the Sydney incident and find it difficult to pass over the shooting, whatever its reason. The public here has reacted very badly to it. However, we certainly want to have better cooperation with your country and we shall certainly resume full relations after some time. We have proved that there is interest on our side to do so by allowing your diplomats to perform consular business on certain days in several places in Australia. That is already a big step forward.

[Pavlovic] An Australian parliamentary delegation is due to visit Belgrade in June, and some businessmen will visit there later. Is this not a sign that the thaw between Yugoslavia and Australia has already begun?

[Evans] There have been several simultaneous moves. An agreement was reached that embassies may get new people who will work on consular businesses. Our three diplomats have already arrived in Belgrade and our embassy has been working in full swing. A new official has arrived at your embassy in Canberra and reenforcements will be coming soon. It was agreed that we will form a mixed committee for economic cooperation which will hold its first session in Belgrade in September. These are certainly signs that our relations are thawing.

[Pavlovic] Our emigrants have protested against the closing down of the SFRY General Consulate in Sydney and the actions by extreme emigrants. How have you replied to them?

[Evans] We said the only thing that could be said in this situation: that we did not feel responsible for the closing down of the consulate, that we could not do anything else, and that it is difficult to say exactly when the consulate will be reopened. That needs time. As regards the activity of these other groups, they know that the free expression of opinion is the right of every citizen of this country.

[Pavlovic] Australia has attended the last few nonaligned summits as a guest. What do you expect of the ninth summit in Belgrade?

[Evans] We have been following the Nonaligned Movement for years and we have intensive cooperation with it. It is our deep conviction that the movement is a constructive force on a world scale. I expect that we shall have even greater cooperation in the sphere of disarmament, a ban on chemical weapons, environmental protection, health issues.... Unfortunately, some very serious obligations will not allow me to attend the Belgrade summit personally, but we shall certainly see to it that Australia is represented at a high level. The delegation will most probably be led by Dr Peter Wilenski, our ambassador to the United Nations.

## Accounting Service Examines Stari Trg Fund

*AU1306151389 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 13 Jun 89*

[Text] During the collection of aid for the miners of the Trepca mine in Stari Trg, federal regulations on the way and conditions under which the users of social funds can open accounts with the Social Accounting Service were violated. Therefore, it was instructed that a check be made of the Social Accounting Service in Slovenia. At the same time, it was decided that a list of contributions of 5 million dinars and over should be compiled so that, on the basis of this information, the Slovene branches could transfer these funds to the current account where these solidarity funds are deposited. This is the essence of a reply presented to the Federal Assembly by the Yugoslav Social Accounting Service in answer to a question from Vilka Potocnik on legal regulation controlling the money that had been contributed.

## Federal Prosecutor's Office Criticizes Slovenia

*AU1306202389 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 7 Jun 89 p 3*

[N.R. report: "Slovene Public Prosecutor's Office Called to Account"]

[Text] Belgrade, 6 Jun—Last year, fewer criminal charges were filed against the perpetrators of political crimes (517) than in the 2 previous years. This is not a real reflection of the enemy's activities in the country, but of the rather more restrictive policy of criminal prosecution, the work of power centers, and the "impudent and open pressures on the organs of repression."

This was stated in a report of the Federal Public Prosecutor's Office for 1988 in which (particularly in the chapter on political crime) the Slovene organs were criticized in particular.

The report concludes that hostile activities in our country are intensifying, and that at present "they have culminated in the synchronized, well-thought out, and obviously planned activities aimed at worsening the political-security situation and undermining stability in society."

"Last year, the Federal Public Prosecutor's Office worked on the harmonization of the practice concerning the application of criminal norms for a good reason.... The Slovene Public Prosecutor's Office claims, however, that in view of the 12-year-old incomplete, unclear, and legally and technically unacceptable norms—because of which the interpretation of legal books was often adapted to the prevailing political mood—the Federal Public Prosecutor's Office could not harmonize the policy on political criminal prosecution...."

The report of the Federal Public Prosecutor's Office further states:

"After many efforts—including that of the Slovene Public Prosecutor's Office which, by sketching the restrictive policy of prosecution, pointed out that the definition of a criminal act has been narrowed down while respecting human rights—the Slovene Assembly set up a commission to study the criminal law. This commission prepared amendments to Chapter 15 of the SFRY Criminal Law (on political crime). The amendments attempt to significantly de-ideologize Article 114 of the Criminal Law, the criminal act of the counterrevolutionary imperilment of social order."

The Federal Public Prosecutor's Office appeals for further harmonization of the policy on criminal prosecution and warns that if this is not achieved, the law could be suspended. This again refers to Slovenia.

"In 1988, the federal public prosecutor had to take into his hands the prosecution of political criminals for the first time ever. In two cases the courts in Slovenia did not agree with the federal public prosecutor's procedural work stating that the law may be interpreted in such a way that the federal public prosecutor can only have limited rights in taking over prosecution. We submitted a demand to the Federal Court to protect the law against these legally binding decisions."

[The following passage appears boxed within the body of the item]

### What Were They Charged for and Where

In the sphere of political crime, the majority (311) of charges filed last year were against those who caused national, racial, and religious hatred, those who damaged the SFRY's reputation (91), and those who spread hostile propaganda (50).

More serious forms of political crime were registered in Kosovo and Macedonia and they all refer to activities that were conducted from the positions of Albanian separatism and nationalism. In Croatia, charges were brought against three persons for being involved in terrorism, two for divulging state secrets, and six for providing assistance to a person who had committed a criminal offense. In Serbia, charges were brought against one person for espionage and one person for taking part in hostile activities. The most serious political offenses have not been registered in other republics and in Vojvodina.

The majority of the accused were Albanians (42.40 percent), Serbs (17.67 percent), and Croats (13.40 percent).

## Interethnic Divisions Reflected in Kosovo Media

*AU1306164189 Pristina RILINDJA in Albanian 8 Jun 89 pp 1, 5*

[R.T., B.H. report: "Problems of Society Reflected Among Journalists"]

[Text] The majority of journalists, through their work in the past, have shown their commitment to stabilizing the situation in Kosovo as fast as possible; strengthening brotherhood, unity, and togetherness; preventing the emigration of Serbs, Montenegrins, Turks, and other non-Albanians from Kosovo; and encouraging the return of all those who wish to live and work here in order to forge unity in the Socialist Republic of Serbia and to promote trust and understanding throughout Tito's Yugoslavia, from the Vardar to Triglav.

This was said by Ibrahim Arsllan, president of the Presidium of the Kosovo Journalists Association, in his opening speech at the 13th Electoral Assembly of the Kosovo Journalists Association held in Pristina yesterday, which was also attended by Tomislav Sekulic, secretary to the Presidium of the Kosovo League of Communists [LC] Provincial Committee; Sonja Scepanovic, executive secretary to the Presidium of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee; Slobodan Dimic, member of the Presidium of the Kosovo Socialist Alliance of Working People [SAWP] Provincial Conference; Gani Jasari, Zivojin Mitrovic, and Momcilo Trajkovic, Pristina communal leaders; and delegates from the journalists associations of Yugoslavia, Serbia, and Vojvodina.

The delegates to the Kosovo Journalists Association Assembly stood for a minute in silence in remembrance of those journalists who had died since the last meeting: Ali Sutaj, Gojko Radovanovic, Mustafa Shala, and Nexhat Zekeria.

### Divisions in the Media

Ibrahim Arsllan said, among other things, that the media are doing their job under highly fraught circumstances, and had exhibited such weaknesses and shortcomings as bias, immoderation, and exaggeration, particularly noticeable in articles on the solidarity gatherings, on the constitutional and cadre changes, on the November, February, and March events, and so forth. The lack of objectivity of the Albanian-language media on recent events in Kosovo must be stressed, and ideopolitical differentiation must be carried through to the end among editorial boards. There has also been disunity among the media, which has further hampered the work of progressive forces in stabilizing the situation in the province and beyond, while differences among articles have become sharper than ever before in the history of Kosovo journalism.

Tomislav Sekulic, secretary to the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee, talking about the present political situation in Kosovo, said that there must be an end to arid discussion that yields no results. We do not at present have any positive program of value about how we must work to properly solve the Kosovo situation. The constitutional changes were carried out, but what now? Serbian and Montenegrin emigration is continuing at an even faster rate. How can this be explained? Interethnic relations are chillier than ever before, and people look askance at one another. However, we will not give up our efforts to stabilize the situation, but will continue them to the end. The ship of Kosovo has been sailing in the wrong direction for years, and we must change its tack once and for all and point it on the course laid down by the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] and progressive forces. The Albanian-language media, especially RILINDJA and Pristina Radio and Television, have a major role in breaking down the various forms of resistance that have been encountered and in winning over a larger proportion of the Albanian nationality to our side. People must have many issues properly explained to them, and they must be removed from the influence of the enemy. The media have a major role here. Tomislav Sekulic also spoke about ideopolitical differentiation, which must be carried through to the end.

### Differences Also Voiced in Discussion

An often controversial discussion lasting many hours took place about the role of journalists in solving the political and security situation in Kosovo, during which the contradictory views and opinions long evident in Yugoslav journalism regarding the extent of the situation and ways to overcome it were expressed.

The speeches of Milos Antic, Bora Ilic, Vlada Micunovic, Dragisa Todorovic, Bosko Drobnjak, Veton Surroi, Misa Kikovic, Sakir Maksut, Vlado Slamberger, Milisav Milic, Misa Vujovic, Zivorad Igic, Shefki Ukaj, Shefqet Rexhepi, and Burim Hatipi stressed various aspects of Kosovo and Yugoslav journalism in its writing about and reporting from Kosovo. There were often emotional and polemical arguments in describing and enumerating various events and situations from fixed viewpoints. The Croatian and

Slovenian media were attacked, and it was said that they are not helping to stabilize the situation in Kosovo. The Albanian-language media were also criticized for their reports of events in the past.

The assembly then heard the report by the Electoral Commission, and the explanation of Slobodan Dimic that the position was that no signatory of the appeal of cultural and academic workers about the constitutional changes sent to the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Serbia could be elected to any self-management body, and thus to no post in the Kosovo, Serbian, and Yugoslav journalists associations, and that Veton Surroi and Ibrahim Berisha could not be elected as members of the Presidium of the Kosovo Journalists Association, since, as Dimic explained, they had come into conflict with the LCY. Heated discussion then broke out, in which the following took part: Slobodan Dimic, Blerim Reka, Gani Bajrami, Nazmi Misini, Zivorad Igic, Qani Mehmeti, Ramush Tahiri, Behxhet Haliti, Veton Surroi, Ibrahim Rexhepi, Dush Gashi, Xhemail Rexhepi, Muharrem Bacaj, Sakir Maksut, Bosko Drobnjak, Srefqet Rexhepi, and Dusica Berlekovic. The opinion was expressed that such a decision robbed the RILINDJA journalists who had signed the appeal of the 215 of their civil right to elect and be elected to posts in the journalists' associations, which, it was said, was contrary to the SFRY Constitution. The RILINDJA journalists aktiv was asked to put forward other candidates in accordance with these standpoints. Even though it was said that Veton Surroi had not come into conflict with the LCY, because the ideopolitical measure of a warning had been issued to him following his interview with Branko Horvat and this penalty must now be considered spent according to the statutes, RILINDJA's proposal that he should stand for the post of president of the Kosovo Journalists Association was not accepted. After a vote was held on the proposal that the elections should continue without the delegates from RILINDJA (there were 30 votes in favor, 19 against, and 3 abstentions), and since the RILINDJA journalists considered this a violation of the statutes of the Kosovo Journalists Association and of their self-managing rights as delegates, the large majority of them left the meeting. The Assembly continued its proceedings and elected candidates to all its posts, using lists from which the RILINDJA journalists had been struck.

At a special meeting, the newly-elected Presidium chose Milisav Milic, Kosovo correspondent for Belgrade Television, as vice president of the Presidium of the Kosovo Journalists Association. Since it was RILINDJA's turn to nominate a candidate for president, it remained for the RILINDJA journalists' aktiv to propose other candidates for the post, because the Kosovo SAWP Presidium did not agree with the suitability of Veton Surroi and Ibrahim Berisha. The other candidate, Gani Bajrami, who had obtained the approval of the Kosovo SAWP Presidium, voiced his disapproval of this procedure, and tendered his irrevocable resignation as a member of the Presidium and as a candidate for the post of president of the Kosovo Journalists Association.